Outline

JAHANGIR'S
World Times
PUBLICATIONS

Introduction

Quotes

Thesis Statement

Revised & Updated Edition

top 30 ESSAYS

for

CSS, PMS

& all other relevant exams

Why This Book?

- ✓ Essay Writing Techniques
- ✓ In-depth Analysis
- ✓ Extremely Helpful for the Students of Competitive Exams

Zahid Ashraf

Relevance

Conclusion

CONTENTS

- Long Essay 9
- Technique of Writing Essays 16
- China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) 19
- Corruption 26
- Good Governance (CSS-2016) 35
- Provincial Autonomy or creating more provinces (CSS-2016) 44
- War on Terrorism is Contributing towards growing abuse of Human Rights (CSS-2015) 49
- Energy Crisis in Pakistan 57
- Water Crisis in Pakistan and Its Remedies (CSS-2016) 64
- Population Explosion in Pakistan 73
- Global Warming/Climate Change 79
- Privatizing Higher Education-Generating Knowledge or Making More Money for the Opulent (CSS-2014) 89
- Education 96
- Poverty, causes, effects and suggestions 106
- Media in Pakistan/Media, The King Maker 112
- Democracy in Pakistan 119
- War on Terror/ Terrorism 129
- Socio Economic Problems of Pakistan 139
- Pakistan Rich in Natural Resources, but Poor in their Management *or* Pakistan is a Rich Country where Poor People Live. 145
- Islam, the religion of peace 150
- Reforming the UNO 156

- Balochistan, Problems & Suggestions 166
- Foreign Policy of Pakistan 180
- Challenges Faced by Pakistan in 21st Century 201
- Problems of the Muslim Ummah 207
- The Land of Pure 212
- The New Great Game 223
- Palestine 228
- Revolutions of the World 239
  - American Revolution (1764-1789) 240
  - The French Revolution (1789-1799) 242
  - The Russian Revolution (1917) 244
  - Iranian Revolution (1978-1979) 245
  - Chinese Revolution (1949) 248
  - Young Turk Revolution (1908-1909) 249
  - Cuban Revolution (1953-1959) 251
- Enlightened Moderation 255
- Organisations at Glance 264
  - SAARC 264
  - ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) 267
  - SCO (Shanghai cooperation Organizations) 271
  - ECO (Economic Cooperation Organization) 276
  - OIC (The Organization of the Islamic Conference) 279
  - EU (European Union) 284
- Budgets (2016-17) 291
- PMS Past Papers 299
- CSS Past Papers 301
- References 305

LONG ESSAY

TWO TYPES

1. Argumentative
2. Explanatory
3. Quoatational

ARGUMENTATIVE OR EXPLANATORY

Now it is a question which should be done.

- Argumentative essay requires a complete evidence and supports your answer with logical reasons and claims in the end
- Explanatory essay does nor require evidence or supports, students just need to give general examples and write in detail.

ARGUMENTATIVE

- These essays seek evidence in the shape of facts or figures, examples or explanation of the argument.
- Mostly, in CSS, argumentative essays are asked.
- For example: Energy Crisis, causes and effects (CSS, 2012)

QUOTATIONAL ESSAY

- Such essays are difficult to attempt as the material of the proverb dries after writing 3 or 4 pages. Usually, questions are asked from literature and students do not have enough material to write on proverb.

TIPS

- Understanding the topic is very important
- In case if student knows the answers of two essays then write down the outlines of two essays and finalise which one is the best to be attempted.

Usually attempt those essays which are simple and not in the shape of quotation. Sometimes, there are asked essay like CSS (2008), Global warming, a fact or fiction.

- In this case, students need to support one logic either fact or fiction. Do not try to proof both when there is 'or' in the statement of the essay.
- In this essay, student has to support his logic by presenting reports or facts to show that his answer is based on logic.

- In this case, you can quote the IPCC-2007, 2014 Reports, etc regarding Global Warming which is the best argument for your essay as Global warming is fact.
- Sometimes, there are essays like **Democracy is culture rather than process (CSS, 2012).**
- Such type of essays should be avoided as students are unable to understand the topic.
- Such essays demand a lot of attention as candidates have to prove democracy is a culture in developing countries whereas in developed countries it is process.

Some times, essay like **'Meaning and purpose of education (CSS-2013)'** was asked.

- In this context, students need not to give causes, effects and suggestions. Students just need to define the meaning and its purpose only.
- I observed many times if a student prepares an essay education, causes, effects and suggestions and when the essay like **'Meaning and purpose of education (CSS-2013)'** was asked then student writes that causes and effects. In this case, students fail because examiner did not ask to give causes or effects as examiners is asking about meaning and purpose. So student must think what the examiner is asking before attempting paper.

Some times, essay like **Democracy of the people, for the people and by the people (PMS - 2012)** was asked.

- In this case, students' outline must be revolved around the meaning like democracy for people (welfare state, speedy justice, access to fundamental human rights, etc) and democracy by the people (representative elected by people, significance of vote, etc)
- I saw students write causes and take pakistan examples while the examiner is asking something different and general about democracy as its function, prerequisite, etc.
- So student should be careful while answering such questions.

LATEST TREND IN CSS ESSAY AND HOW TO COPE WITH IT

- During **CSS-2013, 14, 15 & 16,** those essays are asked which depend on the critical thinking of the students. Now cramming and memorising essays are discouraged by the examiners. In these essay, students need to build their critical analysis skills as these essays purely depend on students' critical ability.
- Hence, students had better practise and get such types of essays checked by a CSS English teacher and making outline of these essays are appreciating.

A GOOD ESSAY

- One must be clear about the topic
- There should not be grammatical mistakes
- Proper paragraphs ought to be followed.
- Issues of coherence and cohesion need to be tackled to present your answer in a well organised and united way.
- Prove your logic or argument at the end of the essay

STRUCTURE OF AN ESSAY

How to Make Outline

Firstly, students should read the following topics in detail like

- Poverty, causes, effects, suggestions

- Flaws in Educational system of Pakistan and its remedies
- Overpopulation, causes, effects and suggestions
- Media in Pakistan: Media as king maker, positive and negative points of media, media ethics, social media, freedom of media has certain limitations.
- Problems of democracy in Pakistan
- Causes of bad governance in Pakistan
- Energy crisis, causes, effects, suggestions
- Global warming, causes, effects, suggestion; a fact or fiction; global warming and its effects on Pakistan; future of global warming.
- Women empowerment: causes or factors, women's rights and western women's rights
- Socio-economic problems of Pakistan
- Corruption in Pakistan, causes, effects and suggestions
- Pakistan is rich but poorly managed.
- Other topics which are very common in newspapers especially 5 months before the start of the final exams.

How to Make Outline

- While students are preparing these essays, he/she must have the hard copy of the last 10 to 12 years past papers having an overview of these papers.
- For example if a student is preparing problems of education in Pakistan then one must have the ideas of Education and its meaning and purpose, causes, effects, and suggestion, reforming examination system, role of higher education commission, private institutes: **Promoting higher education or a business to make money (CSS-2014).**
- These different angles of an essay will be beneficial to student when he appears in exams because he has almost covered last 10 years past papers.
- Essay like Media which has been asked many times during the last many years like:
  Freedom of expression has certain limitations
  Social media, etc

While preparing it, one needs to go through the past papers and gets idea what are the different titles of an essay which can be asked like negative and positive effects of media and suggestions.

Once student goes through the material, he needs to address the topic of an essay if there is a simple problem like **Poor persecuted women (CSS-2005)** or **Energy Crisis, causes and effect (CSS-2012)** or Global Warming then student is supposed to make outline having major headings Introduction, causes, effects, suggestions and conclusion.

- Then there should be detailed points in the shape of phrase writing as sub heading of the above headings.

For example

ENERGY CRISIS, CAUSES AND EFFECTS

Introduction

(i) Energy, a life line

(ii) Demand and supply gap

Causes

(i) No major projects undertaken by previous government
(ii) Failure to increase the generating capacity
(iii) Problem of circular debt

Effects

(i) Closure of industrial unit
(ii) Unemployment
(iii) Effects on industrial sector

Suggestions

(i) Resolving the circular debt problem
(ii) Building small power plants
(iii) Capital cost of new plants

Conclusion

HOW TO MAKE AN OUTLINE

- Some times essays like **'Country life is better than city life CSS-2013)'** was asked. In this case, student has to make an outline having the two major heading: one is country life and other is city life.
- Student can also compare it after writing in detail the advantages of rural and urban life. Such type of essays do not ask for any argument. These essays by nature are explanatory. In some cases, where students do not have direct material of the essay like **'Not economy but politics is a key to success (CSS-2013) OR 'What are the hurdles in our way to becoming a truly independent state? (CSS-2011)'.**
- In these cases, students can make a mental chart by writing the key word in a circle and making points whatsoever comes in your mind.
- Once you note down your points you can arrange it significantly and can remove or miss any irrelevant point.

HOW TO WRITE THE INTRODUCTION OF AN ESSAY

- Preferably, if student has quotation relating to this topic, he/she must write in the beginning with proper reference as

According to Quaid Azam,

"This is challenge to our very existence and if we are to survive as a nation and are to translate our dreams about Pakistan into reality we shall have to grapple with the problem facing us with redoubled zeal and energy. Our masses are today disorganized and disheartened by the cataclysm that has befallen them. (Address to Civil, Naval, Military and Air Force Officers of Pakistan, Karachi on October 11, 1947)

- For example if you are writing an essay on poverty you can start with starter as:

There are many problems in Pakistan. One of them is poverty.

Or

Poverty is a major issue which Pakistan has been confronting since her inception.

The above two patterns tell how to start the very first sentence of an essay.

- The argumentative essay starts with starter and thesis statements in the start of an essay. Thesis statement, short and precise, is the idea of justification what the student is going to prove in his/her essays. Most of the time in argumentative essay, where there are causes, effects, and suggestion, students can write these causes, effects and suggestion in their thesis statement.
- For example the thesis statement of poverty essay can be:

  Poverty in Pakistan is a multifaceted problem deeply rooted in its socio-political and economic structure of governance. The lack of effective political and economic governance is adversely hampering efforts to cut rising poverty.
- In other words, students must take into their mind that thesis statement is what the student has to proof in his/her essay. It is a main theme and argument which students gradually prove in their essays paragraph wise.
- Another example of starter of Corruption essay can be:

  Corruption exists in one form or another in all societies. The major difference in the case of Pakistan (or perhaps South Asia) is the extent of its pervasiveness and its implications for governance and the value system in general and the political culture in particular.
- While the thesis statement can be:

  Corruption has become systemic. It has become instit utionalised at all levels in a way that it has become an integral component of the administrative, social and political culture.
- After writing quotation, starter and thesis statement, students should explain it or if he/she has report of Economic Survey of Pakistan, budget, UNESCO, etc then it is preferable to quote such figure to validate your justification of your thesis statement. After that, explain it and the length of an essay should be one page of A4 size.

HOW TO WRITE THE BODY OF AN ESSAY

- After writing introduction, students need to write the causes in each paragraph. If the essay is Poverty, causes, effects and suggestions then student write down the cause of poverty first.
- For example, the first cause of poverty is feudalism. In this paragraph, write such type of start up of a paragraph which student can easily justify in his paragraph.
- For feudalism, student can write the opening sentence of a paragraph as
  - Since the independence of Pakistan, feudal lords hijack this country by exerting their influence in all fields of life as they are MPAs, MNAs, Ministers, P.Ms and Presidents.
- After writing the opening paragraph, student has the option to give figure or fact or example or explain this ideas.
- For example, a student can justify by saying that:
  - More than 60-70% of our land is occupied by feudal lords (22 families) while the rest population (190m) has 20-30% land resulting in the shape of equal distribution of income. That is why, poverty is increasing day by day as our major income is in the hands of 22 families who hold 60-70 % of our land.
- This is a argument of the opening line of this paragraph.

- Similarly, student is supposed to write other causes in different paragraphs.
- After writing causes in 7 or 8 paragraphs then student need to write effects in 4 to 5 paragraph as effects paragraphs do not have argument and its justification.
- After that, give suggestion in 3 to 4 paragraph by using different words like should, must, ought to, it is the need of the hour, it is high time, etc.

HOW TO WRITE THE CONCLUSION OF AN ESSAY

- Then write the conclusion.
- In the conclusion, write with the words such as Finally, Lastly, In conclusion, To conclude this, To summarise, In summary, In sum, etc.
- In the conclusion, paraphrase your thesis statement and justify your argument which you have developed in the introduction.
- End of the paragraph should be very positive as one hopes, one wishes, one prays that Pakistan will be able to overcome this problem if practical policies are implemented.

DIFFERENT ESSAYS

- If the essay is about Poverty Alleviation:
  - Do not write causes in 7 to 8 paragraphs then need to write in just 1 or 2 paragraph because your main focus is alleviation and alleviation means to give suggestions
  - In such type of essay, main focus and outline will be on alleviation and causes and effects have little value or portion.
  - If you are writing 15 pages then you have to write 10 to 11 pages on eradication and the rest consists of introduction, little causes and effects and conclusion.
  - Paragraph length should be between 6 to 10 lines of each.

EXPLANATORY ESSAYS

- These are those essays which do not need argument and its justification.
- Such essays consist of prerequisite, general examples and more focus on explanation.
- Essays such type can be:
  - Country life is better than city life.
  - Meaning and purpose of education.
  - The pleasures of reading.
  - All humans are born equal in dignity and rights but htey are in shackles everywhere.
  - Dialogue is the best course to combat terrorism.

Such essays should be solved according to their key terms. For example if there is an essay of Pleasure of reading then those students can write who have the habit of book reading and they know what are its benefits, how it contributes towards knowledge increasing, etc.

TECHNIQUES HOW TO DEAL DIFFERENT TOPICS

- Essay like **Dialogue is the best course to combat terrorism or great nations win without fighting (CSS-2014)** need to elaborate the importance of dialogue as it is necessary because it avoids bloodshed, wastage of resources, weakening economy, loss of human being, damage of infrastructure as nations have to conclude dialogue even at the end of the war. If it is necessary at the end why there is a need of war?

- In this way, students after writing and developing the significance of dialogue can write the examples of the world like Soviet Union, like US withdrawal from Afghanistan.
- In such essays, student has to convince the examiners the role of dialogue rather than launching war.
- Essay like **Can the Third World War be prevented? (CSS-2008)** or **Can women be equal to men in Pakistan? (CSS-2010)**
  - Student has the option to prove it that is it possible or not. If yes, then give your argument in a logic way.
  - only take one side of the picture and do not try to proof both sides.
- In 2014, Essay on dialogue was asked. The context of the was the withdrawal of the US from Afghanistan and there were a number of articles in Dawn about Dialogue and Peace. Such questions appear in Newspaper like Dawn where students can prepare easily.
- In 2015, Human rights violation and war on terror was asked. Students of International Law can attempt it because they have read it in their syllabus.
- In short, Top 30 Essay book and Newspaper before 4 to 5 months of the exams can be beneficial to get higher marks.

HOW TO COLLECT THE MATERIAL OF AN ESSAY

- Before 4 to 5 months commencing of the exams, students need to read The Dawn daily as most of the time, the topic and heading of an article in Dawn is directly taken for CSS essay, current affairs, Pakistan affairs, etc. So reading newspaper will develop your critical analysis skills.
- Secondly, read the magazines related with CSS and read the topic
- Thirdly, my Top 30 Essay book will provide many things at a single platform.
- Fourthly, write and get these essays checked by a CSS teacher. (going to a CSS teacher in the last month of the exams result in utter failure of the candidates. Consult teacher at least 4 to 5 months before the CSS exams start.)

TECHNIQUE OF WRITING ESSAYS

The Technique and Skill

(a) Introduction
(b) Main body
Part-I (subheading)
Part-II (subheading)
Part-III (subheading)
(c) Conclusion

The Introduction: Under introduction you define the topic for which a thesis statement is to be made. The start should be gripping and well worded. Your reader or the examiner should have no doubt in his mind what you are going to write about. The Introduction normally consists of only one paragraph whatever the length of the essay. For example let us suppose the topic under consideration is "Why Democracy fails to come to Pakistan." Its introductory paragraph could be constructed as under:

Introduction (Specimen)

"Every time there is a change of government in Pakistan, a dictator is found sitting on top as the head of the state. In whatever form the change may come, it matters little. It may be an elected government thrown up by proper democratic process or a government installed in place of a dismissed regime. It could be a coup staged by the military in the middle of the night with a solemn promise to hold elections within 90 days to pave way for the advent of genuine democracy or it could be an outright take over of the government in broad daylight with the declared objective of giving the nation true democracy within a few months. But in each case democracy fails to knock at the door of this unfortunate nation.

The Main Body: For a multi-purpose exhaustive essay or three hours long examination essay the 'main body' is divided into three, four or more parts depending on the number of essential aspects it has. Each part is given a subtitle. A lengthy essay without subheadings becomes dull, drab and featureless. By just looking at the important highlighted aspects, the reader can conveniently conclude that justice appears to have been done to the topic. For this purpose utilize the first twenty minutes or so in planning the essay and writing the Introduction. Make an outline to draw up a list of relevant points intended to be discussed. Arrange them in a logical order. This enables you to conceive the essay from start to finish in its entirety.

The Outline of the Main Body (Specimen)

(a) Working of Democracy under civil and military rules
Ayub's Martial Law – Basic Democracies – 71 Elections break up of Pakistan – No democracy – Bhutto's autocratic rule – Zia's
Islamic Democracy, Nawaz Sharif, Benazir's democracy – a failure Mushrraf's democracy – no democracy at all.

(b) How feudalism transforms democracy into dictatorship?
Feudal's Political and economic control – People powerless – Illiteracy, Poverty, Corruption among leaders

(c) Devolution Plan for true democracy

Formation of District Govts – Nazims – Financial & Political powers given – A good system

(d) Why Devolution couldn't usher in democracy?

No real devolution – Financial and political power not fully given –Lack of authority – Interference of Ministers – No education.

(e) How poverty blocked the coming of Democracy Concentration of wealth in fewer hands – Majority poor – No vote power lack of education

(f) Abolition of feudalism to pave way for advent of democracy

Feudalism is undemocratic and un-Islamic – Pakistan in grip of feudalism – Democracy can never come until feudalism is abolished.

The Text of the Essay: Once you have gained full grasp of the whole essay it becomes easier to produce its narrative without much mental strain. Parts of the essay that have been broken into inter-connected points ensure logical continuity, With only one point to discuss at a time your mind remains clear, doesn't get mixed up, remains clear and gives its best. You take up one point at a time and produce a paragraph on it. Such progressive treatment of your writing helps to avoid repetition of ideas, sentences and paragraphs which improves the readability of the text. It also enables you to line up only the essential matter dropping out what is irrelevant.

Building up your Vocabulary Stock

Repetition: You are required to remain acutely conscious that repetition has to be avoided even in the use of 'words.' You tend to use a word over and over again when you are short of vocabulary. Such writing becomes disgusting for the reader and the examiner. How to make up the vocabulary deficit? Enrich your vocabulary stock by reading the editorial of a daily newspaper. Make a list of unfamiliar words putting dictionary meanings against them. Within twenty days or so you discover that you have grabbed Editor's entire vocabulary of three to four hundred words with the help of which he produces an editorial of quality daily. A day comes when you hardly find any new word in his writings. In this exercise, you have gained quite a few other advantages as well. One: The editorials have kept you updated on important daily events. Two: They have taught you how to appreciate, criticize, analyze, assess, evaluate the problem at hand and also how to form your own opinion on the topic of discussion. These two are most essential qualities that enable you to become an essayist of worth.

Chisel your Essay to Perfection

However, the real worth of an essay is determined by its exposition i.e. how the subject matter is treated, presented and expressed. This command is gained through reading, observation, discussion and thinking over the subject matter of the topic under consideration. The entire spadework that you have done so far has now enabled you to produce the first draft of your essay. But remember this is only the first draft, not the final one. Leave it as it is for a day or two. Take it up again and start evaluating it critically with a strong uncharitable temper as if it has been written by some one else. Try to improve it as much as possible. Clear up ideas that are vague. Fill up the gaps if there are any. Cut out the sentences, the portions and parts of the essay that appear to be irrelevant, superfluous and contradictory to the main argument of the essay. Add new thoughts to enrich its worth. Look for faulty sentences and remodel them to promote economy of words, ensure appropriate use of vocabulary and remove grammatical

faults. Make use of idioms and phrases. Idiomatic expression make your writing lively, delightful and gives it depth, force, mobility and improves its readability. Having done all that now is the time to rewrite it to make affair copy of your essay.

In the Examination Hall: With the command over the expertise of the art of essay writing that you have acquired and the mental powers that you have developed, you are now well set to make a successful attempt in producing an essay of high quality in the examination hall where the first draft is your final draft and you don't have time to recast or improve it. The first requirement of course is the framework of the essay in the form of an outline plan for which about twenty minutes should be spared. Think hard and jot down relevant points in a logical sequence to make your narrative coherent and progressive. The second is to make use of your latent mental powers. Give your brain a determined command that it should come to your aid to make your discussion analytical and critical. The narrative should be idiomatic and full of creative ideas. The expression should be forceful and convincing. Have faith in your brain and the powers it generates. It obliges like a faithful servant and never lets you down. The draft that you have produced is the first and the last. In view of the spadework that you have been doing months earlier, a well finished and properly polished essay emerges as a matter of course to your entire satisfaction and the standards set by your examiner.

Length of the Essay: It is what you can write continuously, at normal speed, during hundred and fifty minutes i.e. two and a half hours out of a total period of three hours.

The Conclusion: The concluding paragraph of your essay summarizes what all you have discussed at length. It has three outstanding features. One: It reiterates only important points of the essay. No new matter is introduced or fresh discussion launched. Two: Repetition of sentences and vocabulary is avoided. While ideas remain the same the vocabulary changes. Three: Just as the Introduction is supposed to give an attractive and powerful start to the essay, the Conclusion winds up the discussion in a manner that gives feelings of absolute satisfaction to the reader since full justice has been done to the topic.

CHINA PAKISTAN ENERGY CORRIDOR (CPEC)

OUTLINE

- ❑ Introduction
- ❑ Development of Gwadar
- ❑ Previous project: Silk Road
- ❑ Projects
- ❑ Fruits for Pakistan
- ❑ The Concept of One Belt and One Road
- ❑ Different routes
- ❑ Agreement of bilateral trade and economic ties
- ❑ Geostrategic location of Gwadar
- ❑ Challenges for Pakistan
  - Internal
  - External
- ❑ Counter Indian influnce
- ❑ Economic gains from this project
- ❑ Removal of social problems due to CPEC
- ❑ Balance of power in South Asia
- ❑ Effects of the projects
- ❑ Conclusion

ESSAY

The CPEC is a 3,000-kilometre network of roads, railways and pipelines to transport oil and gas from Gwadar Port to Kashgar city, northwestern China's Xinjiang Uygur autonomous region, China Daily reports. China and Pakistan have agreed to build One Belt One Road project more commonly known as China-Pakistan Economic Corridor is expected to bring about both peace and prosperity in South Asia. This corridor will link between Kashgar in north-western China to Pakistan's Gwadar port on the Arabian Sea near the border with Iran via roads, railways and pipelines. There are many internal and external challenges for Pakistan government to implement this multi-dollars project. However, it is a game changer project which will transform the fate of Pakistan and will help Pakistan modernize. It will improve the economy and trade, enhance regional connectivity, overcome energy crises, develop infrastructure and establish people to people contacts in both the countries.

Proposed by Chinese Premier Li Keqiang during his visit to Pakistan in May 2013, the CPEC will act as a bridge for the new Maritime Silk Route that envisages linking three billion people in Asia, Africa and Europe.

The project links China's strategy to develop its western region with Pakistan's focus on boosting its economy, including the infrastructure construction of Gwadar Port, together with some energy cooperation and investment programmes. It also involves road and railway construction including an upgrade of the 1,300-km Karakoram Highway, the highest paved international road in the world which connects China and Pakistan across the Karakoram mountains.

The CPEC will reduce China's routes of oil and gas imports from Africa and the Middle East by thousands of kilometres, making Gwadar a potentially vital link in China's supply chain.

With the support of China, Pakistan has gained significant importance not only in the region but the entire world. In recent years, both China and Pakistan have been making concerted efforts to revive the historic Silk Road which is one of the oldest known trade route in the world and will provide a route for trade from Kashgar (China) to Gwadar (Pakistan). China-Pakistan Economic Corridor plan will help Pakistan to become one of the most strategically important countries in the region. *It will also provide an opportunity to China* to build a naval base on Gwadar port that will increase influence of China in the region and also counter US influence in the Asia-Pacific region. The CBS News quoted some Western diplomats on Pakistan-China partnership. According to them, China's increasing economic engagement with Pakistan should be seen in the context of Beijing's "efforts to counter the US efforts to deepen alliances around the Asia-Pacific region."

The "One Belt One Road" concept has international strategic importance. The One Belt One Road initiative covers countries and regions with a total population of 4.4 billion and a total economic volume of US$ 21 trillion, 63 % and 29 %, respectively of the World.

According to the assessment of the Corridor, the plan is involved in laying the foundation for regional cooperation, improving economic growth, offering trade diversifications, investing in transportation, mining and energy sectors and creating political flexibility. It is a vision with world-changing implications, an unfolding plan that would weave much of Asia, Europe, Africa, Oceania and the Middle East much more closely together through a patchwork of diplomacy, new infrastructure and free trade zones.

The "One Belt one Road" Project consists of three routes, southern, central and northern route. The southern corridor begins from Guangzhou, which is the third largest city of China in South Central

China. This route moves towards western parts of China and connects Kashgar with Pakistan at Kunjarab – a point from where China wants to link to Gwadar port in the Arabian Sea. It is the shortest and the most feasible option for China.

The second Chinese option is the Central Corridor that starts from Shanghai and links the country to Tashkent, Tehran and onwards to *Bandar Imam Khomeini Port* of Iran on the Persian Gulf. One of its branches goes up towards Europe. This is the longer route but could be an option, if Pakistan does not deliver on the timelines of completing its road network to become a beneficiary of the New Silk Road Economic Belt. The third Chinese option is the Northern Corridor that starts from Beijing, passes through Russia, and links it to European cities.

Recognizing the fact that regional integration is an inevitable measure to meet the demands of economically globalized world, the notion of Silk Road was reformulated and rephrased by China in 2013 under 'one road, one belt' initiative, i.e., economic belt along the Silk Road and the Maritime Silk Road.

Pakistan is a significant partner for China as it links China to the Central Asia, Southern Asian region and Middle East and its major deep-sea port Gwadar offers direct access to the Indian Ocean and beyond. Both countries have been working on enhancing their coordination and strategic communication to safeguard common interests. China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) represents a new model of Pakistan and China cooperation which will serve against the backdrop of complex and changing regional and international situations.

China and Pakistan have developed strong bilateral trade and economic ties and cooperation over the years. China has gradually emerged as Pakistan's major trading partner both in terms of exports and imports. Bilateral trade and commercial links between the two countries were established in January 1963 when both signed the first bilateral long-term trade agreement. Both countries signed Free Trade Agreement (FTA) on November 24, 2006 and implemented from July 1, 2007. Later on, both signed the FTA on Trade in Services on February 21, 2009 that became active from October 10 that year.

CPEC is an under-construction mega-project which will achieve the political and economic objectives through trade and development and will also strengthen the economic and trade cooperation between the two countries. This corridor will also be helpful in creating regional stability in South Asia.

After completion of the corridor, it will function as a primary gateway for trade between China and Africa and the Middle East. It is expected that this corridor will help cut the 12,000-kilometre route which Middle East oil supplies must now take to reach the Chinese ports.

This project will run through most of Pakistan starting from Gwadar in Balochistan and ending in Kashgar in western China, while passing through parts of Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa provinces and Gilgit-Baltistan in northern Pakistan to reach the Khunjrab Pass and beyond to China.

Pakistan has prepared a plan to construct three corridors after active consultation with the Chinese authorities; these are the eastern alignment, the central alignment and the western alignment.

The eastern alignment of the corridor originates from Gwadar, travels parallel to the Makran Coastal Highway eastwards (towards Karachi), and then after passing through parts of interior Sindh, and southern, central and northern regions of Punjab, it reaches Islamabad. From Islamabad, it extends to Haripur, Abbottabad and Mansehra districts of the relatively peaceful Hazara Division in KP – this

part of the corridor will also run through Muzaffarabad, the capital of Azad Jammu and Kashmir – and reaches Khunjrab after passing through Diamer and Gilgit areas in northern Pakistan. The corridor will also run through the Pamir Plateau and Karakoram mountains. A link from Taxila through Peshawar and Torkhum will connect the eastern alignment of the corridor to Jalalabad in Afghanistan. Regional connectivity with India through the eastern alignment is designed to be provided through the Hyderabad-Mirpurkhas-Khokhrapar-Zero Point link and the Wagha border, Lahore.

Western *alignment was the original alignment which the government says has been deferred until* the eastern *alignment of the corridor is completed.* According to the western alignment plan, the economic corridor (highway and railway) starts from Gwadar and runs through some southern and eastern districts of Balochistan (Khuzdar and Dera Bugti, respectively), and some districts in south Punjab to reach D. I. Khan in KP. From D. I. Khan, it further extends to Islamabad and Abbottabad and from there onwards, the route is the same as in the eastern alignment. The western alignment will have an additional regional connectivity link to Afghanistan through Chaman and will connect with Iran through Quetta-Kho-e-Taftan link.

Following are the challenges for Pakistan.

Pakistan faces several challenges in the implementation of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) project. These challenges can be identified as external and internal. The Vice Director General of Policy Research Office at the International Department of the Central Committee Communist Party of China, Dr. Luan Jianzhang is of the view that political unrest, security situation and administrative issues are some of the greatest challenges in the way of successful completion of the corridor.

The construction of the corridor has been defined by many as a strategic moment such that Pakistan has assumed the position of economic pivot for the whole region. This paradigm shift in circumstances is a cause of great worry for the enemies of Pakistan both within and outside. India, Israel and the US are unhappy. For India, CPEC is a thorn in its paw. They have put their heads together to work out new strategies to block the project forward march. RAW has opened a special office in Delhi and has been allotted $300 million to disrupt CPEC. Already one can notice sudden upsurge in the acts of terror in the three restive regions and activation of certain NGOs and think tanks all trying to air misgivings and create fear psychosis.

In Pakistan, some political parties like ANP, Baloch nationalists, PkMAP raised serious objections to the CPEC project. Even PTI and JUI (F) showed inclinations to climb the bandwagon of anti-CPEC forces. Objections were being raised despite assurances by the government that this project will provide equal opportunities to all the provinces.

Security concerns have been the most critical challenge to the CPEC and both Pakistan and China have been trying to meet these. An arc of militancy stretches from Xinjiang to Gwadar consisting of groups like the East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM), Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ), Daesh (ISIS), Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA), Balochistan Liberation Front (BLF) and the militant wings of some political parties. Most of these groups may not have an enmity with China itself but rather intend to attacks the Chinese interests like the CPEC as a means to deal with the Pakistani state.

Gwadar is the tail of the Silk belt, which will connect at Kashgar through different communication networks. The security of the whole corridor and Gwadar is a real concern for China. After the military operation in different parts of Pakistan, the terrorist infrastructure still exists inside and outside of the borders which will continue to pose a threat. The support of American CIA, Israeli

Mossad and Indian RAW has continuously been assisting the militant groups and sub-nationalists in all the provinces to conduct subversive acts — and using terrorist elements in the whole country to threaten the Pak-Chinese plans of developing the CPEC. In the past few years, they kidnapped and killed many Chinese nationals in Pakistan despite Pakistan's efforts to provide best possible security. The army has announced the creation of 10,000 man special force for protecting the development projects. The new force, named the Special Security Division, will comprise nine army battalion and six wings of paramilitary forces, the Rangers and the Frontier Corps.

As an economic enterprise, for the CPEC, the greatest challenge comes from competitors. The most significant is the Iranian port of Chabahar. India intends to invest significantly ($85 million) in the development of Chabahar, which *lies a few miles* away from Gwadar and is part of its efforts for access to land-locked Afghanistan and Central Asia while bypassing rival Pakistan. Chabahar will effectively be a way station for energy imports coming from the Gulf region and destined for Afghanistan and Central Asia. It will also be a gateway to the Middle East, and possibly Europe, for exports originating from Afghanistan and Central Asia. While the Chabahar project has not yet been started due to the ongoing talks on the Iranian nuclear issue, the Gwadar port has already become functional. However, there is no need for contention between these two ports. Iran has a stake in the CPEC through the proposal to link the Iran-Pakistan gas pipeline with China, which has been described as a "common interest" between the three countries.

Indian involvement in Chabahar is linked to Pakistan's refusal to allow India access of transit to and from Afghanistan, so India sees Iran as the next-best option. If Pakistan extends transit facilities to India, and then India may not be interested in building up Chabahar. In recent years, India has been particularly active in engaging Central Asian states for the sake of pursuing energy deals. India can be easily accommodated via the CPEC itself through eastern interface in Punjab and Sindh and transformed into a stakeholder in the success of both Gwadar and the CPEC.

The dice of connectivity loaded by China has left India confused and bewildered. India is also concerned about China's huge investment in Pakistan, particularly its recent decision to fund for China-Pakistan Economic Corridor. China is also helping Pakistan in producing plutonium at the Chinese built Kyushu reactor and will also sell eight submarines worth $5 billion, which will give a quantum jump to Pak Navy's sea capability.

After the completion of CPEC, Pakistan may become a trade hub in the region after Gwadar Port starts functioning fully and duty-free economic zones are set up. Many Central Asian states have also expressed interest in becoming part of the corridor. This strategic partnership between Pakistan and China has upset India that openly voiced its opposition and even premier Narendra Modi pressed the president of China during his visit to Beijing to drop the plan of developing the corridor. However, China did not cave in to the pressure and vowed to push ahead with work on the project.

India is also not happy with the handing over of Gwadar Port development and its operations to China. There have long been reports that Delhi is fuelling insurgency in Balochistan, which is rich in oil and gas resources, but poor law and order conditions have halted work on exploration activities there. Experts believe the India-UAE nexus will try to fail the Gwadar Port development project and create hurdles in the way of exploration activities in Balochistan.

With Chinese clout growing and Russia flexing muscles to regain control over Central Asia, India is struggling to make some headway and spread its sphere of influence in the region. Delhi has bet on Iran and Afghanistan to reach the Central Asian states via land route as Pakistan and China have control over many land links that provide access to the resource-rich region. India hopes it will

be able to reach Central Asia through the Iranian port of Chabahar and build a north-south corridor that will run to Afghanistan and eventually stretch to Central Asia.

Pakistan has been playing a significant role in South Asia. After the completion of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor economic, commercial as well as geostrategic environment will improve in Pakistan. It will help Pakistan in dealing with the problems of poverty, unemployment and inequities of undeveloped provinces. During his meeting with President Xi Jinping, President Mamnoon Hussain said the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor would prove to be a game-changer in the whole region by generating massive trade and economic activity and opening new vistas of progress and prosperity for the people of the two countries and about three billion people of the region.

CPEC from all counts will prove a game changer and will make China a real stakeholder in Pakistan's stability and security. It is a win-win situation for both. It will greatly expand the scope for the sustainable and stable development of China's economic development. Investments by China will boost Pakistan's $274 billion GDP by over 15 %. Corresponding progress and prosperity in Pakistan and China's patronage will help Pakistan in getting rid of the decade old labels of 'epicentre of terrorism', 'most dangerous country' and a 'failing state'. Pakistan enjoys a more favourable fiscal situation compared to India by reducing its budget deficit to 4.7% of GDP in 2014 (as against India's 7%) and Pakistan is both competitive and cheaper as an emerging market. China's economic and military assistance will help Pakistan a great deal in narrowing its ever widening gap in economic-military-nuclear fields with India and in bettering its defence potential.

Ambassador of China to Pakistan Sun Weidong while talking about the corridor said that the setting up of energy, transport, infrastructure and industrial projects under China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) would benefit all the provinces of Pakistan. He said that the CPEC was not limited to just a road but it will connect the country with a number of motorways and infrastructure projects. He explained that infrastructure projects included Gwadar port, the second phase of the upgrading project of Karakoram Highway, motorway project between Karachi and Lahore, Thakot-Havelian motorway, Gwadar port expressway, Gwadar international airport and Karachi-Sukkur motorway, adding further that the project will increase collaboration in areas of energy, finance, commerce, banking, industry and education.

China-Pakistan Economic Corridor will help build a robust and stable economy in Pakistan and will create a significant opportunity for Pakistan to revive its industry and advance its economic interests. It will also help in overcoming the psychological barriers to flows of foreign investment from other sources. Despite its restrictive economic regime, over 150 private equity funds, foreign and domestic, are active in India. Only three or four such funds are dedicated to investing government, with the participation of the private sector, to encourage foreign direct investment in Pakistan is indispensable. Finance Minister Ishaq Dar said war phobia can also be defeated through economic development. Peace and prosperity can be achieved with economic advancement.

This project will go beyond regional ambits to bring about enormous changes not only to the national economies of the benefiting states but also to the economics of the people at the grass roots level.

CPEC is the crown jewel in the new Pakistan economic paradigm because Pakistan has the opportunity to act independently of the western influence especially the US influence as it has proved of late, an irritant factor. CPEC project will also bring an opportunity to Pakistan for normalization of ties with India, Iran and Afghanistan which will keep balance, strengthen prospects of peace and improve socio-economic status of the people of the region.

CPEC is a game changer project which will lift millions of Pakistanis out of poverty and misery. The project embraces the construction of textile garment, industrial park projects, construction of dams, the installation of nuclear reactors and creating networks of road, railway line which will generate employment and people will also take ownership of these projects. Fully equipped hospitals, technical and vocational training institutes, water supply and distribution in undeveloped areas will also improve the quality of life of people.

CPEC is not only the name of road, port and railway system but a multi-dollars mega project which will bring peace and prosperity in all the provinces of Pakistan. The chairman of the Gwadar port, Dostain Khan Jamaldini said that the CPEC would not only benefit Balochistan but also prove beneficial for the country's three other provinces.

CORRUPTION

OUTLINE

- Definition of corruption
- Essential components of corruption
- Causes
  - Lack of accountability
  - Absence of rule of law
  - Low salaries
  - Lack of independence of judiciary
  - Weak political institutions
  - Political collusion with top management of a department
  - Denial of basic facility of life
  - Bad governance due to corruption
- Findings of National Anti-Corruption Strategy
- Examples of corruption
- Effects of corruption
- Steps to curb corruption
  - Increase salaries of the government employees
  - Speedy judicial justice
  - Role of NAB
  - Police reforms
  - Judiciary and legal profession
  - Access to justice programme
  - Accountability courts
  - Public sector financial management
  - Financial oversight bodies
  - Independent Anti-Corruption Agencies
  - Local government
  - Freedom of Information and Media
- Conclusion

ESSAY

At length corruption, like a general flood (So long by watchful ministers withstood), Shall deluge all; and avarice, creeping on, Spread like a low-born mist, and blot the sun."

–Alexander Pope

"It is said that power corrupts, but actually it's more true that power attracts the corruptible. The sane are usually attracted by other things than power." ***-David Brin***

Corruption in Pakistan is on the decline, as Transparency International Berlin released its annual global report 2015 showing Pakistan further improving its ranking from the 50th most corrupt country in 2014 to 53rd in 2015. The political will of the government to fight corruption is lacking which has resulted in the Supreme Court of Pakistan to take suo moto action against mega corruption in NICL, Pakistan Steel, Rental Power Plants. The CPI 2010 reveals that corruption in Pakistan is increasing, while in Bangladesh it is decreasing. Bangladesh was perceived to be the most corrupt country in 2001, 2002 and 2003 and its ranking in 2010 is the 39th most corrupt country. Reduced corruption has paid dividends to Bangladesh whose annual GDP growth last year was over 5%, while Pakistan's GDP growth last year was near 2.4 %. Delay in formation of an Independent Accountability Commission by the parliament may further aggravate the situation.

The word "Corruption" has its origin in a Latin verb "corruptus" meaning "to break". Literally, it means "a broken object". In simple words, corruption means "the misuse of entrusted power for private benefit." Conceptually, corruption is a form of behaviour which departs from ethics, morality, tradition, law and civic virtue. The term corruption has various definitions. The United Nations Manual on Anti-Corruption, the Transparency International, and the multilateral financial institutions like the World Bank and Asian Development Bank define corruption as, "abuse of public office for private gains" The National Anti Corruption Strategy (NACS) has defined corruption as "a behaviour on the part of office holders in the public or private sector whereby they improperly and unlawfully enrich themselves and/or those close to them, or induce others to do so, by misusing the position in which they are placed."

Section 9 of the National Accountability Ordinance 1999 has defined corruption and corrupt practices in a comprehensive manner. It has enlisted about twelve different shades of corruption. Illegal gratifications, bribery, extortion, abuse of office, fraud, cheating and criminal breach of trust are some of the corrupt practices mentioned in the NAO 1999 (Annex A). Starting with the Prevention of Corruption Act 1947, there are about sixty pieces of enactments and rules that deal with offences of corruption and corrupt practices in Pakistan (Annex B). The most comprehensive definition of "corruption" can be found at the web site of the Global Infrastructure Anti Corruption Center (GIACC) http://www.giaccentre.org. It says "In its wider sense, corruption includes one or more of bribery, extortion, fraud, deception, collusion, cartels, abuse of power, embezzlement, trading in influence and money laundering."

The primary responsibility of ensuring the culture of sound management or what we generally call good governance lies directly on shoulders of the civil administration. In a democratic dispensation, the process of accountability starts at the first stage of the "conversion process" – the

elections, which is the connecting link between the rulers and the ruled. It is at this stage that the foundation of sound and transparent political culture could be laid. The electorate ought to carefully demonstrate their first choice (right to vote) of the process and to exercise their right only under the dictates of their conscience. In return, the rulers who are the custodians of the political environs ought to honour the trust reposed in them and to judiciously exercise the powers they derive from that trust. In order to ensure consistency and sustainability of an accountable, transparent and open political process, it is imperative to keep the connecting link intact.

Corruption is more prevalent because lack of accountability and regulation. If money that the government receives is going in their pockets rather than being spent on the people who need it, on their education, health and so on, then the consequences are obvious that many people do not pay taxes because they do not trust the government to spend it on the people, they think they are corrupt and the money would just disappear. And so this creates a vicious circle. People do not see the government doing anything to help them, so they think it's a waste of time to pay taxes. The government doesn't get any money from taxes and so can't do anything to help people.

Across the board application of rule of law, merit based appointments and easy access to justice is the only solution to save Pakistan from corruption, which is responsible for poverty, inflation, terrorism, illiteracy, lack of electricity and hording of essential food commodities.

The major reason of fast creeping corruption are political instability, poverty, unequal structure of society, unemployment, lack of accountability, weak political institutions and absence of rule of law. Resultant they are affecting political stability, equal distribution of resources and power, confidence of local and foreign investors and political institutions.

The basic reason for corruption is low salaries as everyone is finding a way to better their living standard as much as they can; it's also a human nature that he has everything more and more. So mostly corruption is to be seen where there are people having fewer salaries they use corrupt ways to achieve the goal. It is true that they do not have any other way to fulfill their wants.

Incompetent judiciary in terms of not bringing the culprits in to the gallows of law and absence of bringing the corrupt politicians and policy makers to the books is another decisive factor in today's sorry state of affairs. In the same manner the unnecessary delay in deciding the cases of corruption is a clear explanation of the adage: the justice delayed is justice denied.

On independence, Pakistan inherited weak political institutions. Performance of these institutions in the country over the years further damaged the culture of transparency and accountability. Admittedly, efforts at establishing a strong political dispensation have been facing frustrations head on but these institutions have also failed to capitalize upon the available opportunities. Their internal democratic traditions are still weak and non transparent. Due to lack of respect for participative values, the mainstream political parties are generally dominated by a single person.

The menace of corruption has links to a multitude of vices. Its roots are linked to injustice, mistrust, suspicion, extremism and terrorist activities. It creates a sense of insecurity, exacerbates poverty and adds to the misfortune of the vulnerable segments of the society. It also instills a sense of hopelessness and despondency and threatens the strength of good values which have been established over centuries of civilized struggle.

The corporate sector is also littered with failures due to corrupt practices. Scandals in the corporate sector are subjects of headlines in the media. Wrong practices seem too common, and unacceptable behaviour has become a normal practice. Corporate governance has been practiced only in form and not substance. Chairmen, chief executive officers and directors are appointed on the basis of political and personal clout. Merit is a less visible commodity. Thus politicization and inefficiency at the top management levels has resulted in steep decline in the quality of output. Illegal convergence of interest has encouraged insider trading which causes frustration and setback to the genuine investor. Real demand and supply factors have negligible role in shaping the market behaviour which is predominantly controlled by the middleman. Prices are determined by unscrupulous profiteers through the middleman mafia. Counterfeit products have flooded the markets. Consumers are left with no option but to live with inferior quality stuff. There is no effective consumer's rights protection regime. The monopoly control mechanism has turned out to be of least effect. The Monopoly Control Authority has to be improved to play an effective role in curbing the menace that has infected the corporate sector.

Need and greed are cited as the reasons of corruption and corrupt practices. Need as a reason is applied to low paid employees specially those entrusted with service delivery powers and public contact. Corruption occurs out of compulsion, as those indulging in corruption are in need of the basic necessities and lack access to social entitlement. However, need very easily merges with greed once need is taken as a justification by those indulging in corruption and corrupt practices. It is because of this fact that corruption is linked to poverty which is termed as corruption of need. Absence of an ethical base in societal attitudes is also cited as one of the root causes of corruption.

Corruption and corrupt practices are indicative of breaches in the governance edifice. They pose serious threats to the sanctity of ethical and democratic values and weaken administrative, political and social institutions. The issues of corruption, poverty and governance are cross cutting. These issues put together and form an integral part of the development literature. Recently, the terms governance and good governance are being profusely used in such literature. Good governance remains at the forefront of every aspect of our life, be that political, social or economic. Governance has to be good in its manifestation, and if it is not so, it is certainly no governance at all. The mere suffix or prefix of the term 'good' does not serve the purpose.

The essential components of good governance are the rule of law, accountability, transparency and predictability. The rule of law means equal application of law, equal protection by law and equality before law. In the absence of the rule of law, institutions get weak and become hatcheries for corrupt practices. The realization of the goals of good governance and prosperity becomes a myth.

According to the findings of National Anti-Corruption Strategy and the National Corruption Perception Survey 2006 carried out by Transparency International, major causes of corruption in Pakistan are as follows:

(a) Lack of effective Internal accountability mechanism
(b) Discretionary powers and their flagrant abuse by the public office holders
(c) Absence of and weakness of the watch-dog agencies
(d) Elected government's perpetual failure to develop proper ethical and business standards for the public and private sector
(e) Political leaders' incompetence and betrayal of public trust with penchant for self-enrichment

(f) Lack of transparency in the government's decision-making process
(g) Lengthy and cumbersome procedures in the executive system
(h) Weaknesses in the judicial system
(i) Illiterate, apathetic or ignorant populace with inadequate discernment of political choices
(j) Power of influential people
(k) Inadequate wage envelope

Many people in Pakistan believe that much of the development and a significant portion of the operations allocations are lost due to bribery and other related illegal and unethical activities. The extreme poverty and lack of infrastructure and basic services in the rural areas of Sindh and Balochistan is in part fueled by bribery, influence peddling, extortion, and abuse of power. The people of Pakistan and the international donors must rise to the occasion and start pressuring the Pakistan government to curtail corruption and to improve governance. Failure to do so in a timely manner will continue to frustrate poor people and make them weary of the current democratic system and drive them to extremism.

There are many example of corruption. A government official or government Minister or his/her business partner receiving money in exchange for awarding a contract, job, promotion or approving invoices for payment (an example that involves Bribery and Abuse of Power and may involve Collusion). A policeman receiving money to drop charges against some one or receiving bribe from some one to arrest another person is an example of bribery and misuse of power.

A contractor who uses sub-standard material in the construction of a large public project such a university building, a road by-pass, or a village road. An inspecting engineer who receives bribe to ignore the use defective material and/or workmanship and approves the project for payment. A senior manager in a public or private organization giving a job to a friend or relative bypassing a proper selection process is an example that involves Abuse of Power and Trading-in-influence).

A teacher who rarely goes to school to teach but collects his/her salary regularly. A bad village leader (wadero)illegally occupies a school and uses it as guest house is an example that involves Bribery, Abuse of Power, Fraud, Deception, and Collusion.

General perceptions and actual public surveys about corruption show that Police, Power Sector, Judiciary, various Taxation departments (Custom duties, Income Tax), and irrigation departments are considered the most corruption prone departments in Pakistan.

According to a report, appointments in the police force are often based on political considerations. The instances where conflicts of interest due to personal loyalties and family connections exist are numerous. Many complain that local landlords or urban groups with police support exploit poor people through extortion (bogus fines, etc.).

Some important areas affected by it are discussed as under:

1. The world economic forum's Global Competitiveness Report (2007-08) identifies corruption as the 3rd greatest problem for companies doing business in Pakistan after government bureaucracy and poor infrastructure (Sala-i-Martin and Porter, 2008) It is therefore a direct impediment in the way of the Direct Foreign Investment (DFI) which is so badly needed to generate economic activity, create employment, and support the dwindling foreign exchange reserves.

2. With an effective check on corruption national exchequer can easily gain nearly double of the annual allocations earmarked under Kerry Lugar Bill carrying strikingly harsh conditions for national sovereignty and autonomy.
3. The cycle is really vicious rampant corruption in tax and custom and excise collection and WAPDA dues and costly public sector purchases, and inefficient major public sector entities like PIA, Railway, Steel Mill etc. cause a major deficit for the government every year in term of resource generation and expenditure that makes the government borrow from IMF and other foreign and domestic resources which through increased debt repayments broadens the gap and compels the government to increase the price of the utilities like electricity, gas, CNG and petroleum. That takes a heavy toll from the people of Pakistan. Resultantly corruption which is done at far away and much higher places from the common citizens has a direct and deep impact on their lives. Thus act of corruption, whether direct or indirect, close or remote is not innocuous for common man.
4. The country has lost many years of development effort because of eating up of development funds at a very large scale and because of over charging for almost every item of work.
5. Other than the government offices and public sector, corruption has thoroughly permeated the political arenas. Party tickets are openly bought and sold and so does the transaction flourish for hunting or hounding the voters. This has resulted in the dominance of political scene by the drug barons, black marketers, hoarders and speculators who not only have in many cases snatched away the true representative character from the democratic process in the country but who make good their investment in the election process through massive corruption while in power and add to the miseries and the cost of living of the common man.
6. Still worse is its impact on religious circles who sell fake degrees to the needy politicians with impunity, show fake entries of students to get more Zakat money and sell religion edicts on need basis. At times it appears that the whole structure has been soiled and has replaced scholarship as it is becoming increasingly difficult to find a genuine religious scholar from any quarters.
7. Rampant trends of corruption have also badly affected the business ethics in the country which is devoid of any egalitarianism. Hood winking the regulators, stock piling, hoarding, and black marketing are the order of the day and individual business man, business firms, business groups and sometimes a whole industry is found pegged in these malpractices.
8. And when corruption affects the institution of the last resort that is the judiciary the country loses its track and direction. Absence of a fair judicial system does not affect the individual litigant alone it affects the whole economy where domestic and foreign investments shy away for fear of usurpation and misappropriation.
9. The worst of all is a break down of law and order because of pervasive corruption in police and lower judiciary. The influential, the wealthy and the mighty have a fair chance of getting away with what ever they do if they pay the right price at the right stage. This had lead to increased incidence of crimes of all nature and at all levels.
10. In short the unbridled corruption has negatively impacted all spheres of activity in the country and the whole society has suffered serious blows to its social fabric and working environment.

Most experts think that corruption is one of the most difficult problems in Pakistan's society. Its impact on country's towns and villages is extremely profound and poses long term threat to its culture, economics, and general well-being of provinces such as Sindh. The following are some of steps and

methods at grass roots and government levels that have helped to curb corruption in some countries, particularly in South East Asia, where once corruption was as rampant as it is now in Pakistan:

Increase salaries of government officials and workers in line with the remuneration prevalent in private sector of Pakistan.

Persons who can clearly see the damage that is being caused by corruption in Pakistan must speak up. They should discuss, debate, and voice their concerns openly with friends and family. They should help create a culture where corruption is looked down. The virtue of being honest and simple living should be lauded and only the persons who possess such qualities be accepted as the role models.

The media should take a lead in launching anti-corruption campaigns. They should conduct investigations and report cases of corruption supported by facts report on estimated damage done and identify people who are involved in such cases.

Authorities that provide funding for projects should encourage whistle blowing and provide monetary and other awards to those whose reports on corruption proven to be correct.

Authorities should maintain black-lists of those officials and agencies that are known to engage corrupt practices and should keep them away assignments that involve public projects and services.

Authorities should not shy away from prosecuting senior civilian and military officials and political leaders who engage in corruption to set examples.

The political parties of Pakistan should have policies that shun any leaders and workers who engage in corrupt practices.

All institutions including political parties should have policies that force those officials to temporarily resign when credible allegations of corruption surface until those allegations are proven to be false in a court of law.

At the heart of Pakistan's recent anti-corruption drive are country's National Anti-Corruption Strategy (NACS) launched in 2002, the National Accountability Ordinance of 1999 (amended 2002) and the National Accountability Bureau - the agency charged with the implementation and overall coordination of the NACS and the Ordinance. A general discussion on these is out of the scope of this U4 answer (there is a bulk of information on these general reform efforts widely available and some good resources are listed in Part III of this answer).

In this section, reform initiatives in some of the specific sectors (perceived to be most affected by corruption) are listed. Namely, efforts in areas of police and law enforcement, judiciary and legal profession and public procurement are discussed. The second section of Part II lists some reform initiatives in other areas.

It is hoped that the reorganization outlined by the new Police Order of 2002 and the Police Complaints department will improve the functions of the police and provide relief to the citizens. Reportedly, one of the first steps taken in the reorganization has been the separation of the police force into various branches, divisions, bureaus and sections. It is intended to help improve the efficiency but in fact may lead to more corruption and less efficiency due to non-cooperation or lack of coordination. The Police Order of 2002 has also outlined a format for setting up district Public Safety Commissions

(PSC). The functions of such commissions will inter alia include investigations of complaints on excesses and neglect against police officers and encourage greater police-public participation. The PSCs are to be set up within the Federal and Provincial Government and the District and Town Local Governments. There shall also be a National Public Safety Commission. Further, the Order makes provisions for setting up of federal and provincial police complaints authorities for enquiring into serious complaints against the members of Federal Law Enforcement Agencies. Other measures provided for by the Order include the establishment of the Criminal Justice Coordination committee, to work on the improvement of the system as a whole and promote good practices, and of the National Police Management Board, to work on overall technical and human resource capacity building within the Police.

In 2002, the National Accountability Bureau as a part of its study in preparing the NACS organized an international workshop, resulting in the stakeholders adopting a resolution related to ensuring transparency in Public Procurement in Pakistan. This resolution was incorporated in the NACS report and was approved by the Ministerial Cabinet and the President of Pakistan in October 2002. Amongst others, the recommendations provide that:

- the Standard Procedures for Procurement of Works, Goods and Consultants should be revised by the Public Procurement Regulatory Authority. Either the World Bank or PEC by-laws should be uniformly implemented in all government and semi government departments till such time the PPRA prepares its own Guidelines;
- to ensure transparency and public participation, the Transparency International-Pakistan tool 'Integrity Pact" should be made an integral part of all tenders;
- for every new project, public hearings should be made mandatory for scrutiny of necessity of the project and for the environmental assessment, prior to concept clearance approval;
- evaluation Committees for Pre-qualification and Award of Contracts must include at least two departmental members, and a minimum of three independent experts, (One each from the Pakistan Engineering Council, Institute of Chartered Accountants and FPCCI), and others.

An important part of the recommendations of the NACS is the incorporation of the TI Integrity Pacts in all contracts for goods and services where the estimated cost of the project is over Rupees 5 million for consultancy and over Rupees 50 million for Construction Contracts. This has been a major breakthrough in the efforts of TI-Pakistan whereby all major contracts will not only provide for the "Integrity Pact" but also include all other recommendations, which have been put out in the NACS Document (outlined above). An example of the Integrity Pact in use is to be found in the Greater Karachi Water Supply Scheme (KIII Project) project. An integrity pact, with a formal no-bribery commitment, was signed by KWSB, consultant bidders and TI Pakistan. It resulted in a successful bid of Rs 62 million ($1.04m) against the reserved fees of Rs 249m ($4.2m). The project adopted the least costly selection method. The bidding process was monitored by Transparency International- Pakistan to ensure it is clean and transparent. In the event of a breach of the Integrity Pact, sanctions come into force against the bidders and officials, including liability for damages, and blacklisting from future tenders. The procurement process is to be followed by monitoring of the contract by civil society, specifically TI Pakistan. The Karachi government had expressed plans to apply the same transparent process to other projects.

It is suggested that some of the weaknesses may be addressed by the government's Project to *Improve Financial* Reporting and Auditing (PIFRA). The World Bank has carried out a country Financial Accountability Assessment in December 2003. Further, the ADB has approved a US$ 204

million loan (part of a wider sequence) to support the Government of Punjab. Among other objectives, the programme aims to improve the effectiveness and accountability of financial management by bringing in transparent and user-friendly budgets and accounts, and financial and procurement systems

The Supreme Audit Institution of the country (the Auditor General's office) is trying to reform itself by following international best practices, such as those of the International Organization of Supreme Audit Institutions (INTOSAI), as part of its reform agenda. It has been noted that there seems to be some progress in reorganizing the department with a view to adopting modern techniques of audit and reporting formats. It has initiated a capacity building program under the project to improve Financial Reporting and Auditing (PIFRA). Some of the other reform efforts include the design of diagnostic tools, such as a "Financial Government Rating Index (FGRI)" and an "Internal Quality Rating (IQR) for its departments, etc.

The Government of Pakistan has undertaken a number of steps to strengthen the Anti-Corruption Agencies, and has especially concentrated on the National Accountability Bureau for its reforms. The reforms include the creation of NAB as the sole Anti Corruption Agency at the Federal level; adding the functions of prevention through research and monitoring and public awareness and coalition building with civil society to NAB's mandate; provisions on appointments of ACAs (from the elected opposition members) and security of tenure of key office bearers of the ACA and others. Further reforms and restructuring are in the process.

The future of Pakistan and alleviation of poverty in rural areas of Pakistan is highly dependent on successful and completion of all development projects. This success is threatened by the evil of corruption that must be stopped on urgently before it is too late. The religious extremism, deteriorating economic conditions, and worsening living conditions are unnerving the people of rural Sindh and Balochistan, who until now have refused to fall in the trap of extremism. It is imperative that all stakeholders including political parties, government officials, civil society organizations, private companies, donor agencies and common people recognize the carnage that current levels of corruption can do to the heartlands of Pakistan. They must form a grand coalition to stop the menace before it is too late.

Expected Question:

- **Corruption and accountability**
- **Give measures to overcome the problem of corruption**

GOOD GOVERNANCE (CSS-2016)

OUTLINE

- ❑ Introduction
- ❑ Key attributes of good governance
  - Transparency
  - Responsibility
  - Accountability
  - Participation&
  - Responsiveness
- ❑ How are good governance and human rights linked?
  - Democratic institutions
  - Service delivery
  - Rule of law
  - Anti-corruption
- ❑ Good Governance in Pakistan
- ❑ Brief History of governance in Pakistan
- ❑ Causes of Bad Governance
  - Lack of accountability
  - Absence of rule of law
  - Incompetent politicians and martial laws
  - Relentless corruption
  - Corrupt politicians
  - No system of check & balance in the constitution
  - Limited power of judiciary
  - Negative role of bureaucracy
  - Many social, political and economic problems due to bad governance
- ❑ Suggestions
  - Check & balance on politicians
  - Democratic process should be fair
  - Effective accountability
  - Independence of judiciary
  - Promote education to create awareness
  - Strenghten democracy
  - Amendement in the constitution to ensure good governance
- ❑ Conclusion

ESSAY

"Gender equality is more than a goal in itself. It is a precondition for meeting the challenge of reducing poverty, promoting sustainable development and building good governance."
–Kofi Annan

Good governance has been said at various times to encompass: full respect of human rights, the rule of law, effective participation, multi-actor partnerships, political pluralism, transparent and accountable processes and institutions, an efficient and effective public sector, legitimacy, access to knowledge, information and education, political empowerment of people, equity, sustainability, and attitudes and values that foster responsibility, solidarity and tolerance.

Good governance relates to political and institutional processes and outcomes that are deemed necessary to achieve the goals of development. It has been said that good governance is the process whereby public institutions conduct public affairs, manage public resources and guarantee the realization of human rights in a manner essentially free of abuse and corruption, and with due regard for the rule of law. The true test of "good" governance is the degree to which it delivers on the promise of human rights: civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights. The key question is: are the institutions of governance effectively guaranteeing the right to health, adequate housing, sufficient food, quality education, fair justice and personal security?

The concept of good governance has been clarified by the work of the former Commission on Human Rights. In its resolution 2000/64, the Commission identified the key attributes of good governance:

Transparency, responsibility, accountability,participation&responsiveness (to the needs of the people)

By linking good governance to sustainable human development, emphasizing principles such as accountability, participation and the enjoyment of human rights, and rejecting prescriptive approaches to development assistance, the resolution stands as an implicit endorsement of the rights-based approach to development. Resolution 2000/64 expressly linked good governance to an enabling environment conducive to the enjoyment of human rights and "prompting growth and sustainable human development." In underscoring the importance of development cooperation for securing good governance in countries in need of external support, the resolution recognized the value of partnership approaches to development cooperation and the inappropriateness of prescriptive approaches.

Good governance and human rights are mutually reinforcing. Human rights principles provide a set of values to guide the work of governments and other political and social actors. They also provide a set of performance standards against which these actors can be held accountable. Moreover, human rights principles inform the content of good governance efforts: they may inform the development of legislative frameworks, policies, programmes, budgetary allocations and other measures. On the other hand, without good governance, human rights cannot be respected and protected in a sustainable manner. The implementation of human rights relies on a conducive and enabling environment.

The links between good governance and human rights can be organized around four areas:

When led by human rights values, good governance reforms of democratic institutions create avenues for the public to participate in policymaking either through formal institutions or informal consultations. They also establish mechanisms forthe inclusion of multiple social groups in decision-

making processes, especially locally. Finally, they may encouragecivil society and local communities to formulateand express their positions on issues of importance to them.

In the realm of delivering state services to the public, good governance reforms advance human rights when they improve the state's capacity to fulfil its responsibility to provide public goods which are essential for the protection of a number of human rights, such as the right to education, health and food. Reform initiatives may include mechanisms of accountability and transparency, culturally sensitive policy tools to ensure that services are accessible and acceptable to all, and paths for public participation in decision-making.

When it comes to the rule of law, human rights-sensitive good governance initiatives reform legislation and assist institutions ranging from penal systems to courts and parliaments to better implement that legislation. Good governance initiatives may include advocacy for legal reform, public awareness-raising on the national and international legal framework, and capacity-building or reform of institutions.

In fighting corruption, good governance efforts rely on principles such as accountability, transparency and participation to shape anti-corruption measures. Initiatives may include establishing institutions such as anti-corruption commissions, creating mechanisms of information sharing, and monitoring governments' use of public funds and implementation of policies.

The interconnection between good governance, human rights and sustainable development has been made directly or indirectly by the international community in a number of declarations and other global conference documents. For example, the Declaration on the Right to Development proclaims that every human person and all peoples "are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development" (article 1). In the Millennium Declaration, world leaders affirmed their commitment to promote democracy and strengthen the rule of law as well as to respect internationally recognized human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the right to development. According to the United Nations strategy document on the millennium development goals (MDGs), entitled "The United Nations and the MDGs: a Core Strategy", "the MDGs have to be situated within the broader norms and standards of the Millennium Declaration," including those on "human rights, democracy and good governance."

Since the draw of civilization man has been striving hard to manage his affairs systematically. The desire to become systematic to the point and precise has led human being to develop variety of disciplines. These disciplines with the march of civilization failed to keep pace with the human driving force. Resultantly new avenues are sought for governance. In the case of Pakistan mismanagement has become a hallmark of ourmanagement. It is casting dark shadow on our institutional setup, our cultural norms and above all our credibility in the comity of nations.

Forced by the mismanagement, wide spread corruption and non-functioning of the national institution different governments introduced a number of reforms to stem the decline. For this purpose, the Nawaz Sharif government initiated serious efforts. But with the unseating of this, government and military taking over, this pace appeals to have gathered pace. For better governance institutions were setup by the military, which are making plausible efforts to achieve their objectives.

Good governance may be defined as that kind of government that is citizen – friendly. It has three major dimensions: Political, Economic and Civic.

In the political sense, governance may be defined as the will and the ability of the government to protect and promote the fundamental rights and liberties of the people. In economic sphere, it is the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development. In its civic sense, the good civic government is that which allows the society to flourish. In a civil society the rights of an individual liberty, free speech, equal opportunities, education etc. are guaranteed by the law .In a civil society collective sense of responsibility prevails.

As the crisis of governance deepens and public confidence in government institutions erodes, there is an urgent need for reform to reinforce the linkages between the state and society. The reasons for this sense of urgency and sense of depression are not far to seek. These may be enumerated as following:

Good governance is needed for sustaining and maintaining a sound political system in a country. In Pakistan, we can see that the failure of democracy is due to bad governance. Every government failure of democracy is due to bad governance. Every government comes with great slogans to serve the nation but once it gets charge, it forgets its promises of serving the people. Every P.M. includes in his cabinet the ministers of his own choice and grabs all the powers while managing the national affairs. The P.M. and his ministers become to self serving. In this way, they provide handle to the opposition to stir up the angered public opinion. The aim of the opposition is always to bring down the government. When the situation gets totally out of control, it forces the Army to intervene often cutting the lifetime of the government and democracy. All such actions lead to political instability. It seeks to underline the need of good governance which in turn would yield political stability in the country. Good governance is needed to make both the public and private sectors effective. A well governed country has also both these sectors well administered and in harmony with each other. When a country is not politically sound its institutions will also be in poor condition. Cohesion between these sectors is impossible in the absence of good governance. In our country, we can see due to the bad governance our public and private sectors are in a great mess.

Every institution of public sector is suffering from mal-administration and worst king of corruption. The people reluctantly visit these institutions because they know the truants and dishonest elements would not lend half an ear shoes palm is always itching. Even for public utilities task, people have to offer bribe. Without any favour or bribe it s very difficult to get any work done from the public offices. Moreover, due to the malpractices of the public officials and misappropriation of public funds the infrastructure of public institutions has become cracked and a situation like chaos is prevailing all over the country, So, good governance is strictly needed in order to make governmental machinery effective.

Whereas good governance is needed for the smooth running of public institutions, it is also essential for maintaining the sovereignty of the country. If a country is poorly governed and there is a political instability, its enemies find opportunities in this situation and try to undermine it. While a badly governed country has many other problems to solve, it can not ensure its security. A good governed country is economically strong and all the departments of the country function smoothly. It enables the rulers to strengthen the country's security.

In Pakistan, there have been repeated military interventions into political governance from time to time. Although country has witnessed democratic regimes as well, but there has been constant experimentation with democracy in the last 50 years. That is shy no comprehensive system of governance could evolve. This poetical chaos started with the dissolution of first constituent assembly in the most undemocratic and arbitrary manner by Governor General Ghulam Mohammad in 1954. Since then Pakistan's internal strife has been plaguing including constitutional crises. He replaced Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din by Mohammad Ali Bogra, then foreign Ambassador of Pakistan in the United

States. In the second cabinet of Mohammad Ali Bogra, Mohammad Ayub Khan, then C-in-C, was included. It paved the way for military martial law in 1958.

The first Martial Law was imposed by Ayub Khan in 1958 and lasted till 1969. He abrogated the constitution of 1965. He introduced Presidential system with indirect elections. His era was known as "Decade of Development" which later on proved to be "Decade of Exploitation" as his policy of privatization widened the gap between "haves" and "have nots". The national wealth was concentrated into the Ayub also created resentment among the students.

In April 1969, General Yahya assumed lasted control of the country and again Martial Law lasted till 1971. He abrogated the constitution of 1962, banned all political activates and dissolved National and Provincial Assemblies. Yahya's Military regime in the history of Pakistan was void of developmentbecause there was no improvement or progress in any sphere of life. Rather there was a visible decline in political, social and economic spheres. Above all, the country was dismembered and the eastern wing broke away to emerge as an independent sovereign state of Bangladesh. His only aim was to transfer power to an elected body by holding free and fair elections. Yahya lived up to his promise of holding fair election which were held in 1970 but instead of paving the way of smooth transfer of power, the results of the election sowed the seeds of disintegration which eventually led to the formation of Bangladesh in 1971. The loss of East Pakistan in 1971 war and the dismemberment of the country ill-reputed the Pakistan Army. The army rule could not continue and Yahya had no alternative but to quit by handing over power to Z.A Bhutto.

Z.A Bhutto was the chairman of PPP, who secured majority in West Pakistan in election of 1970. Bhutto possessed a charismatic personality. He introduced the concept of "Islamic Socialism". According to him

> *"Islam is our faith. Democracy our policy, Socialism our economy and all power to the people".*

He raised the slogan of providing basic necessities to the people like Roti, Kapra and Makan. His economic policy was totally different. In 1972, he undertook a massive "nationalization" programme in which he nationalized all those industries set up in the private sector. In first phase, 31 units were nationalized which fell under 10 categories. They were iron and steel Industries, basic metals, heavy engineering etc. In second phase, he undertook second phase of nationalization which people were not expecting. It created great panic among the industrialist, as they were not expecting the nationalization was not an extensive exercise and could not arrest inflation effectively as it was planned to do so. The PPP government public enterprises were controlled by BIM.

The land reforms introduced by Bhutto also could not yield the desired results as landlords anticipated such reforms in advance and transferred surplus land in names of their other family member, relatives or even made lease-back arrangement with tenants. However, his labour reforms in 1972-73 enhanced the prestige and status of labour class and safeguarded their rights effectively. He was the only head who was allowed to enjoy his tenure properly from 1970-1977.

Again Martial Law intervened in 1977 and the so-called popular leader elected by common people through dubious elections was hanged. Whatever the circumstances were, the step was unconstitutional. Zia's Martial Regime was supposed to be the shortest one but it turned out to be the longest in the history of Pakistan. Zia did not abrogate the constitution of 1973 but suspended. At that point of time, a strong Pakistan from military point of view was needed because of Afghan problem and the revolution of Iran. Both of then could have their repercussions beyond their boundaries. Zia's regime opened the gates of foreign aid in Pakistan as country was going through adverse economic crises.

Besides, Zia undertook massive Islamic programme in order to seek legitimacy of his prolonged rule. He issued various ordinances to bring existing laws in line with principles of Quran and Sunnah. He decided to promulgate 1973 Constitution with necessary amendments. He passed his famous 8 amendment curtailing the power of head of government through article 58 2(b) and provided significant power to the president who could dissolve National Assembly whenever he thinks that need has arisen.

He held local elections in 1983 on non-party basis. Then he held referendum in 1984 and main aim was to seek public mandate for Zia's various steps, which he had already taken since 1977. In January 1985, he held general elections which were also on non-party basis. It became difficult to choose P.M and C.M from elected assemblies.

Handpicked civilian Govt. of Mohammad Ali Khan Junejo was placed in but it found it very difficult to work while country was still under Martial Law Regime. The Government of Junejo was fired in 1988 through the special power enjoyed by Zia because of 8th Amendment. The government was dismissed on the plea of Ojhri Camp disaster. Corruption charges were leveled against it and also due to the early signing of the Geneva Accord by Junejo without the consent of President Zia. Holding of Round Table Conference by Junejo also annoyed Zia in which various political parties were invited. On 18 August 1988, President Zia's airplane C-130 crashed near Bahawalpur. He died along with top brass military generals on the spot. Thus another military civilian regime ended in a tragic manner.

The General elections were held in 1988 on party basis by the president GhulamIshaq Khan. Many ethnic, political and regional parties participated in these general elections. The PPP bagged 93 seats followed by IslamiJamhooriIttehad claiming over 60 seats in National Assembly. As a result, Benazir became PM of Pakistan on 1 December 1988. The government was dissolved in 1990 due to the corruption charges leveled against her by president of that time.

Then next elections were held in October 1990 and this time IslamiJamhooriIttehad got majority and hence Nawaz Sharif became PM. This government was also dismissed in 1993 by GhulamIshaq Khan on plea of corruption, nepotism and ethnic strife.

Again elections were held in 1993 and Benazir became PM but this government was also dissolved on corruption charges in 1996.

Election were again held on 2 February 1997, and Nawaz Sharif came into power. The results were amazing for everyone. The PML (N) made clean sweep in the elections and got a wide majority. But in 1999, a military coup took place led by General Musharraf. The Army was yet again in power promising again of smooth transfer of power to grass root level within 3 years.

Following are the causes of poor governance.

Although accountability is the keynote of Islamic character yet it is not only emitted in the constitution of Pakistan but also not found even in the character of the rulers, this is a word unknown to the rulers of Pakistan, unless accountability is introduced with all the seriousness. The process of accountability not only be swift and sure but also transparent. that it demands, the ills and curses inflicting the country will continue to inflict. Accountability should be irrespective of personalities.

Secondly, absence of rule of law leads to bad governance. In Pakistan, no law is applicable to the feudal lords. While the definition of rule of law means that every one is equal in front of the law. There are many cases of corruption against the politicians but no case has been pursued against the politcians due to not independence of judiciary. The cases of Hajj Scam, Steel Mill, Mehran Bank

case and others are still pending or their punishment is not given as per the law. Since independence of Pakistan, no general, bureaucrat, politican, minister was held accountable or any case was filed against them.

Incompetent politicians have also adversely affected the governance system in Pakistan. The basic problem is with politics. This is both systemic and generic. Systemic in the sense that our political system is not designed to perform the type of functions it is entrusted with. Generic in the sense that the political apparatus (Parliament, the government or the cabinet) designed for performing certain functions, essentially the sovereign functions does not have the capacity to discharge the duties assigned to them. There is a sharp difference between our political culture and governance. In some cases it does but in many it does not. Merit, social justice, transparency, good governance, effective economics and enterprise management do not find a place anywhere in our politics. Politicians have a one-point agenda to attain power and that too, not for the purpose for which they are elected, but for their narrower and even personal agenda.

Undoubtedly, in Pakistan, corruption is a significant obstacle for good governance, supremacy of law, and rational use of authority to run the affairs of state and to maintain public cohesion and national harmony. Unfortunately, corrupt practices and misuse of public office lead to general frustration, opening windows of protest with sense of dissent, disapproval and conflict against the governing authority. The environment of agitation and demonstrations carry seeds of large scale disturbances, creating law and order situation, social disorder and political chaos, culminating in poor governance. In a real democratic system, hence, wise rulers undertake tangible measures to fight corruption with a view to improve governance and maintain order. It is our misfortune that rampant corruption in the country has infected the entire edifice of national institutions, while the rule of law appears to have been totally disregarded. Consequently few parasites devouringly consume best of resources, while the poor majority remains repressed and victimized under hard economic conditions.

Since the establishment of Pakistan Army has always had a strong desire to have a permanent place in the political setup of country. The 4 military regimes are the proof of this. Pakistan's history is studded with coups and coup like actions that have affected the character of the civilian governments and their working.

It's quite clear that four governments before the Ayub Regime and all the governments after Zia were dismissed because they were guilty of corruption, mal administration, nepotism, and ethnic strife.

All the Governments after Junejo were characterized by the royal style of the Prime Minister that was true in case of Benazir and Nawaz Sharif because of their extravagant style of living i.e. Raiwind Palaces and Surrey Palace respectively.

All the previous heads of governments both civilian and military and also the politicians they exercised absolutism in style and mentality. They did not realize that their foremost duty was to serve the people not just to misrule them. Politicians during the last 64 years have not exhibited responsible attitude.

Our constitution does not provide an effective system of check and balance. That is why, when a civilian government is elected, it becomes omnipotent i.e. all powerful which gives rise to corruption and mal-administration. There is no effective system of governance which can keep check on the decisions and the steps taken by PM and his cabinet. Judiciary must be made strong enough to keep a check over the legislation by the government.

In Pakistan except Bhotto's government, no government has completed its expected life span. After Junejo, many governments were disbanded in the period of 9 years. This game of power, musical chair has seriously affected the economic and social progress of our country.

The political chaos prevailing in the country has led to grave economic condition. Now our country is on the verge of bankruptcy for some years. A feeling of hopelessness is going on. Increasing unemployment has led to "brain drain" which is alarming for the very survival of our dear homeland. This continuously deteriorating economic situation is detrimental to effective results oriented governance.

People are also responsible for their misfortunes because they have not exerted themselves. They have failed to participate in the affairs of the state. They have allowed governments to misgovern and mismanage the economy.

In Pakistan, bureaucrats have also tried to gain political power. The examples of bureaucrats turned politicians are present here. These bureaucrats exercise undue influence and make politicians dance on their tunes. They have done enormous changes to the previous government setups by giving rise to red tapes.

Political parties have not done their job properly of inculcating political awareness among the masses. Most of the times they have failed to mobilize public opinion. Instead of securing confidence of the people, they introduced horse trading which has shattered the confidence of people in politicians and political parties. Moreover, political parties led to extreme political polarization in the society which affected the law and order situation in the country. Karachi provides the best example.

With the poor governance in three sectors, economic, political and institutional, the country, despite having huge natural resources, has now entered into stagflation, which is the worst-ever scenario. Thrust, intolerance and corruption have plagued the politics of Pakistan. Having failed to address any of these issues the government has lost its credibility and trust at home. The government is also using institutions for its personal benefits, which is causing a clash among the institutions. Investment is rapidly flying from Pakistan due to unfavorable economic environment in the country. Energy crisis is negatively affecting the industry and a number of industries have been closed down due to unavailability of gas and electricity. These examples show bad governance in Pakistan as our planning machinary and policy makers are totally failed to overcome these crisis.

Good governance is the significant issue of sustainable economic development amongst other factors. It is the instrument of political, economic and administrative authorities to manage nation's affairs. However, governance in Pakistan is almost in a state of collapse. The effects of poor governance have compounded the economic causes of rising poverty such as decline in GDP growth rate, increasing indebtedness, inflation, falling public investment and poor state of physical infrastructure. Pakistan is today faced with a multitude of crises ranging from energy shortages to breakdown of law and order to violence and terror, creating a sense of insecurity and frustration that is eating into the vitals of the nation's identity and dignity, the root cause being the lack of good governance. It is only good governance which creates a good environment for investment, including investment in people, and leads to higher income, reduces poverty, and provides better social indicators.

The performance of bureaucracy at various tiers of the government is ineffective and inefficient mainly on account of inappropriate and whimsical appointments, postings and promotions. This state of affairs needs to take immediate corrective measures to restore the confidence of civil servants to ensure that they work with complete commitment and to the best of their abilities. This will require

elimination of the dead wood, de-politicization of services and encouraging the qualified and the competent. At the same time, social factors such as the highly unequal distribution of land, low level of human development, and persistent ethnic and sectarian conflicts are also obstacles to the achievement of long term sustained development.

There is no effective system of drafting legislation, making budget appropriations, holding hearings with experts, and subsequent oversight by specialized parliamentary committees. People who chair such committees don't have much of a clue as to where to begin, what questions to ask, and how to hold the executive and the bureaucracy accountable. As a result, once the laws and policies are approved, and budgets passed, there is not much oversight or accountability.

The people should be represented from the grass root to the highest level throng their representatives. This democratic process should be fair to accommodate the aspirations of the man in the street throng effective governance.

In order to attain quality of governance, people instead of the accountability of the previous or failed rulers, must ask for participation in decision making and in the execution of the policies evolved through a democratic consultative process.

In order to have an effect system of governance, participation of women should be ensured as according to the latest count men: women ratio is 48:52 respectively. The number of seats that are taken negligible; it's almost non-existent at the moment.

Independence of judiciary must be maintained which can exercise an effective system of check and balance and can prevent politicians from abuse of power.

Economic and political stability are deeply interlinked. Without one, the other cannot be obtained. So government must evolve strait and requires a major re-structuring. Then continuity of policy is required without which no result would be obtained.

People must be educated without which they cannot protect their rights. Press can play a vital role in creating awareness among people regarding their problems and their solutions. In this way, people would be able to demand their rights and will perform their duties in a more organized way. Thus, we can say without proper civic sense good and effective governance cannot be obtained.

This is high time that consensus must be developed among the people that what system of government can suit them better. Keeping in view the pluralistic society of Pakistan, federal system of government can serve people better but sufficient powers must be given to the provinces in order to tackle the problems of the people in an appropriate way. Direct system of election must be introduced and governments must be allowed to complete their tenure. The crucial importance of good governance can be witnessed by the experience of East Asian countries. Between 1965 and 1990, the region registered the highest growth rate in the world and combined it with high living standards. The single most important factor in this economic miracle was the fact that these countries were able to put in place sound and sustainable framework.

EXPECTED QUESTIONS

- **Define Good Governance. Why did Governace fail in Pakistan?**
- **What are the various pre-requisite of Good Governance?**
- **Give some practical measures to implement Good Governance in Pakistan?**

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY OR CREATION OF MORE PROVINCES (CSS-2016)

OUTLINE

- ❑ Introduction
- ❑ Global Scenario
  - More provinces
  - Easy to run administration
- ❑ Demand of more provinces by
  - South Punjab
  - Sindh
  - KPk
  - Balochistan
- ❑ Positive side of more provinces
  - Equal distribution of budget
  - Equal share in NFC
  - To bring underdeveloped province in the mainstream
  - To run the system of adiminstration effectively
  - Opportunity for poor people
  - Grievances of the people will be addressed
  - Overcome ethnic issues
- ❑ Suggestions to overcome the problem
  - Provinces should not be created on vested interest of the politicians
  - Division of budget and NFC not on population but on backwardness, area of the province and problem faced by province
  - Improve governance to address the problems of people
- ❑ Conclusion

ESSAY

In Pakistan, the debate over creating more provinces after 18th Amendment has compelled the policy makers and government to create more provinces to solve the issues of administration, economy, reservation of smaller provinces, ethnic-based region, etc. *Pakistan is no exception in this regard. The country has federal structure* of government in which there is a central government and several provincial governments depending upon the number of provinces. Pakistan is home of four major provinces, *one sub-autonomous state of Azad Jammu and Kashmir and* an administrative unit of Gilgit Baltistan which is not a full province yet.

If one looks around the world, one would find the US with 50 administrative units, India with 28 plus seven Union territories, Turkey with 81, and China with 34. These countries have been doing well economically and politically with more units. Probably this was one of the main reasons that the proponents of creating more federating units in Pakistan predicted that by doing so Pakistan would substantially improve economically and politically. But creating more provinces seems an uphill task in Pakistan unlike India as it started this process right from the beginning. Even if new provinces are carved out in Pakistan, it has to be seen that whether those would be on administrative basis or on ethno-linguistic lines.

Amid the said scenario, there are demands for the creation of new provinces in Pakistan. These demands are based more of ethnic outlooks rather than political and administrative grounds. The demand of new provinces in Pakistan become apparent in the form of several movements destines to attain provincial autonomy.

Creation of new provinces brings several positive as well as negative impacts on the state's health. In Pakistan the creation is however more politicized matter thus blurring the distinct pros and cons of creating new provinces. This further brings questions over the integration of Pakistan with the creation of new provinces as the political parties here lack a unanimous verdict.

Before knowing about the implications of creating new provinces on Pakistan's integration, it's wise to learn about the major movements demanding new provinces in the country. First comes the demand for creation of a new province in the southern part of the Punjab. This part of the Punjab is dominated by Seraiki speaking people who recognize themselves as a distinct ethnic group. But the demand of this Seraiki Province is not mere on the ethnic grounds. Backwardness and low-development levels in the southern Punjab lead to the demand of this province. Further, people of southern Punjab find it difficult to reach the provincial capital Lahore for an administrative task. The proponents of the Seraiki and Bahawalpur provinces expect that their provinces will get a quota in federal services. Presently, Punjab has above 50% quota in the federal services and most of the jobs go to the upper and central Punjab as candidates from southern Punjab are unable to compete for these jobs. The disparity in the quality of education in these regions of Punjab is a major cause for this. Besides, there would be a cadre of provincial services for the new provinces.

Second important demand comes from the Muhajir community of Karachi. The community asks for the upgradation of Karachi into a separate province. Karachi is the provincial capital of the Sindh Province. Making it a new province as demanded would be purely ethnic step.

Third is the demand of creating Pashtun Province in Balochistan. Being the largest area of Pakistan, *Balochistan is the house of Balochs mostly.* Some northern part of this province is dominated by the Pashtuns who want a separate province there.

Fourth demand of creating a new province sought a vociferous voice recently after the name of NWFP was changed into Khyber Pakhuntankhwa. It is the Hazara community of the KP province that demands for creation of a new Hazara Province in KP. This demand is also on ethnic basis as the Hazara community distinguishes itself from the Pashtuns of the KP.

Under the light of the said demands, the implications of creating new provinces on Pakistan's integration can be evaluated in shape of pros and cons of taking such a step. Creating new provinces in Pakistan can integrate the country by infusing a sense of confidence in the minds of Seraiki, Pashtun, Muhajir and Hazarans communities of the country. This can prevent them from taking any drastic steps. Secondly, to demand autonomous administrative provinces is not an unconstitutional thing. They can forward their reservations over the unjust distribution of provincial budgets within various areas of a province. Thus giving them the autonomous provinces can bring them into mainstream national politics.

Another important implication of creating new provinces on the national integration will come in shape of self-rule. When the people of these areas will be allowed to exercise provincial autonomy thus ruling themselves, they can better decide their lives keeping in view their resources and needs. This thing will keep them busy in healthy local politics and prevent sedition.

Thirdly, creating new provinces can ensure better administration. It is mostly difficult to administer a large province. Thus dividing it into two or more smaller provinces can help in administering it well. This also brings fortune to the people of that area without transmission of resources and revenue to the other autonomous parts of the province.

Fourthly, creation of new provinces strengthens national integration by bringing welfare to the state as a whole. When a province of country is welfare, it will surely add to the strength of the state.

Contrary to the positive implications of creating new provinces on Pakistan, there are certain abnormalities that are attributed with taking such a step. In general, creation of new provinces is a constitutional step which in no way can disintegrate a country. A nation's integration begins to deteriorate when the issue about the creation of new provinces is politicized. When the political parties begin to measure the creation of new provinces according to their peculiar interests, several controversies emerge. Take example of the behavior of Pakistan's political parties on the issue of new provinces. Pakistan People's Party supports the voice for Seraiki province to curb the influence of Pakistan Muslim League (N) in Punjab. To counter this move, the latter political party *supports the Muhajir community in making Karachi a province to contain* the influence of Pakistan People's Party in Sindh. Thus, this sort of politics keeps on rendering the issues controversial.

Pakistan's integration will be adversely impacted by the creation of new provinces in case the provinces are created on ethnic lines. A new province is meant to be created on administrative basis. It is when done in order to favour an ethnic group, the national integration faces a blow.

New provinces if created in Pakistan can weaken country's integration if provincialism overwhelms the political scene. If the people of a province pledge to vote only the political party of that province, it will annihilate national cohesion. In the past, the *people of Bengal* voted for *Awami Muslim League* and the People's Party won in the West Pakistan. This later proved to be of fatal consequence when the politico-lingual gaps between the two became so wide that the East Pakistan

seceded from the West Pakistan. This sort of provincialism has caused considerable damage to the national unity in the past.

Following are the strong justification of creating more provinces:

- Poor governance and lack of economic development.
- Distance factor to the provincial capitals as often argued by Hazara province supporters and Seraikis.
- Ineffectiveness of the local government system justifies voices for more federating units.
- It is also argued by many analysts that more provinces would reduce ethnic conflict, prevent Punjab from dominating the smaller federating units, make administration efficient, and give all units a stake in the system.
- Grievances of provincial-level minorities regarding their economic and/or political marginalization by provincial majorities would be addressed.
- Small provinces provide a more favourable environment to explore the economic potential of the areas under their jurisdiction.
- People feel isolated in their present provinces on ethnic or geographical lines.
- Supporters of more provinces get encouraged from the neighbouring countries, especially India, with greater number of provinces.
- People demanding separate provinces feel themselves a major minority and hence consider themselves distinct from the majority, i.e. Seraiki belt amongst Punjabis and D. I. Khan, Hazara in KP and Urdu-speaking Muhajirs in Sindh.
- Pakistan has an additional excuse of demographic division that becomes a structural justification for increasing the number of its provinces.
- It is a well-established fact that the smaller the provinces, the stronger will be the federation. The smaller units would not be in a position to demand separation from Pakistan.

Following are suggestions to overcome the problem:

- Until and unless it is not demanded by a vast majority of the people, the decision to make more provinces must not be imposed for vested political interests.
- More provinces should be formed on the basis of population, and not on linguistic or ethnic basis.
- Demands for more provinces largely represent populist slogans targeting Pakistani desires for instant short cuts to good governance. They confuse the functions of provinces and districts. There is, therefore, a need to improve governance instead of adventuring with the idea of more provinces.
- There is also a need to differentiate between provincial autonomy and creating more provinces as 18th Amendment is in place and the outcome of the powers given to the provinces need to be observed.
- Pakistan could do with a few new provinces, but the most compelling cases are of Gilgit-Baltistan and perhaps FATA. But AJK Prime Minister Chaudhry Abdul Majeed warned the federal government against any attempt to convert Gilgit-Baltistan into a province of Pakistan. He said, "Gilgit-Baltistan is part and parcel of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Any attempt to merge it into Pakistan will deal a fatal blow to our stand in the light of UN resolutions envisaging right to self-determination for the Kashmiris." (Dawn, July 9, 2015)

- Pukhtoonistan issue, the Sindho-desh slogan, and the greater Balochistan are few harsh realities of our history, which could not be ignored. Keeping in view the checkered history of the country, thinking of creating new provinces thus seems playing with fire.
- Ethnic, religious, regional, and lingual divides have on many instances shaken this land of the pure. Pakistan is currently passing through the most volatile phase of its life. If the issue of creating newer provinces is given more air, it may blow out of proportion.
- There is a need to strengthen local government and improve governance at gross-root level. In fact, the holding of regular local bodies' elections throughout the country appears to be a better course of action. The local bodies should be granted necessary powers and financial resources to address the problems at grass-root level. Any major over-hauling of the Constitution in the present circumstances is not advisable as it may unleash centrifugal and other undesirable forces.
- Provinces should address the issues of their backward areas from where calls for new provinces are coming.

In a nutshell, it is the need of the hour to create more provinces as developing countries and developed countries have created more provinces to facilitate their people and to run the system of administration more effectively, but in the case of Pakistan, this issue is taken as politication of the parties as no one is willing to create more provinces by labelling the emerging issues of ethnicity, etc.

WAR ON TERRORISM IS CONTRIBUTING TOWARDS GROWING ABUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS (CSS-2015)

OUTLINE

- ❑ Introduction
- ❑ Fundamental human rights
- ❑ War on terrorism
- ❑ War on terrorism and abuses of human rights
  - Torture
  - Loss of life
  - Arbitrary detention
  - Extraordinary rendition
  - Denial of right to petition
  - Repressive laws
  - Suppression of freedom of expression
  - Discriminations
  - Invasion of privacy
  - Sexual assault
- ❑ Effects of violation of Human Rights
  - More cases of terrorism
  - Emerging terrorists organizations
  - Lack of establishing global peace
  - Religious disharmony across the globe
- ❑ Role of civil society and media
- ❑ Protecting human rights
- ❑ Conclusion

ESSAY

Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights."

Human rights are rights inherent to all human beings, whatever our nationality, place of residence, sex, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, language, or any other status. We are all equally entitled to our human rights without discrimination. These rights are all interrelated, interdependent and indivisible. Universal human rights are often expressed and guaranteed by law, in the forms of treaties, customary international law , general principles and other sources of international law. International human rights law lays down obligations of Governments to act in certain ways or to refrain from certain acts, in order to promote and protect human rights and fundamental freedoms of individuals or groups.

The principle of universality of human rights is the cornerstone of international human rights law. This principle, as first emphasized in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights in 1948, has been reiterated in numerous international human rights conventions, declarations, and resolutions. The 1993 Vienna World Conference on Human Rights, for example, noted that it is the duty of States to promote and protect all human rights and fundamental freedoms, regardless of their political, economic and cultural systems. All States have ratified at least one, and 80% of States have ratified four or more, of the core human rights treaties, reflecting consent of States which creates legal obligations for them and giving concrete expression to universality. Some fundamental human rights norms enjoy universal protection by customary international law across all boundaries and civilizations.

Human rights are inalienable. They should not be taken away, except in specific situations and according to due process. For example, the right to liberty may be restricted if a person is found guilty of a crime by a court of law. All human rights are indivisible, whether they are civil and political rights, such as the right to life, equality before the law and freedom of expression; economic, social and cultural rights, such as the rights to work, social security and education , or collective rights, such as the rights to development and self-determination, are indivisible, interrelated and interdependent. The improvement of one right facilitates advancement of the others. Likewise, the deprivation of one right adversely affects the others.

Over the centuries, people have struggled to conceptualize and safeguard universally applicable human rights. The Bill of Rights in England, the establishment of Habeas Corpus, the Constitution of the United States of America, the Declaration of the Rights of Man in France, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1945), and all of the United Nations conventions in the field of human rights are significant benchmarks in that struggle. Millions of people have worked together to develop the best principles of democracy and the rule of law. However, the recent threats posed by terrorism have led many Western countries to change their commitments to the ideals of human rights. "Since September 11, more than a thousand antiterrorism measures have been proposed in state and local jurisdictions across the nation, and already a number of them have become law. These measures threaten to criminalize speech and protest activities, limit the

availability of public records, expand government surveillance powers, and promote participation in acts the legislature deems patriotic."

These countries have found no other way of dealing with this problem but to limit the rights of their citizens to (among others) freedom, privacy, free speech, and access to lawyers. This, in turn, has given authoritarian governments the opportunity to further suppress and limit human rights in their own countries. Countries with no tradition of rule of law have often looked at more developed states as something of an ideal, but, at the same time, have acted to preserve the power of their own leaders. Thus, the negative example of the more developed countries has allowed states in which democracy is nascent and the government is in most cases authoritarian, to defend their anti-democratic actions and stall any movement toward democratic reform.

But, besides the Geneva Convention, the United States and NATO have violated other international treaties and instruments such as the Protection of People against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, among others. So, there is no international treaty on the subject that has not been violated by the United States and its allies.

There is no single clear and specific definition of terrorism accepted by all nations; even the United Nations cannot settle on one universal definition. The absence of a universal definition leads to abuses and the selective application of the law in authoritarian countries. Yet there is a broad consensus, which dates back to the League of Nations' 1937 definition of terrorism as "...all criminal acts directed against a State and intended or calculated to create a state of terror in the minds of particular persons or a group of persons or the general public." The United Nations' "academic consensus definition," written by terrorism expert A.P. Schmid and widely used by social scientists, defines terrorism as "...an anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi-) clandestine individual, group or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons, whereby—in contrast to assassination—the direct targets of violence are not the main targets.

The United Nations General Assembly Declaration in 1995 defined terrorism as "criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes". 9/11 was the day that produced fundamental changes in the world. It was the day that United States President George W Bush declared war on terrorism and set in place the pillars of that war. The events of the preceding day, 11 September 2001, were truly appalling in their enormity. They were tragic in the huge loss of life. They were extraordinary in their planning and execution. They were unique in each of these ways but they were not unique in themselves. They were not unique as terrorist acts. There had been terrorist acts before – hijacks, bombings, kidnappings and murders. Certainly no single act had resulted in such a heavy toll in death and injury but there had been single acts, such as the Lockerbie bombing in which many hundreds had died and there had been terrorist campaigns waged over years or decades in which thousands had died. Nor were the events of 11 September unique as terrorist acts on US soil.

What was most unique about the terrorist attacks of 11 September were not the acts themselves but the response to them, beginning with the US President's response on 12 September. No war on terrorism had been declared after the Oklahoma City bombing. There was no suspension of fundamental constitutional protections and no rush to legislate even greater restrictions. No indefinite detention without charge or trial. No denial of legal advice and representation. No suggestion that torture should be permitted and authorised. The US President's response on 12 September was unique, unleashing a global commitment to fight terrorism without regard for national boundaries or international law.

Worldwide sympathy for the United States and worldwide condemnation of terrorism followed the attacks on 11 September. There is no dispute about the nature of terrorism or about its intrinsic evil. But there is grave dispute about the nature of the response to terrorism, most manifest now in relation to the War against Iraq. Around the world the war on terrorism has led to increased security, increased surveillance of the general population and of specific groups and increased powers for police and intelligence agencies.

The United States led the way with the mass detentions of hundreds of immigrants who were West Asian or North African in origin or Islamic in belief. Very few of these people were charged with any criminal offence. Many were held for periods of many months on immigration grounds. They were denied their right to silence, denied access to legal advice and representation, prevented from contacting their families and brought before closed courts to be dealt with in secret. The United States also led the way with new legislation to restrict human rights.

The most extreme expression of this new US approach is found in the situation in Camp X-ray at the US base at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba. Captured Taliban and Al Qaida suspects are held there without the protection either of international humanitarian law or international human rights law. The US Administration has said that the provisions in Geneva Conventions on the treatment of prisoners of war do not apply to these detainees. And so those protections have been violated.

Detainees have also been denied the protection of rights guaranteed under the US constitution and the US courts have refused to intervene. They are held in inhumane conditions, subjected to inhuman and degrading treatment and perhaps torture and denied due process rights, including the right to legal advice and representation and the right to be charged and tried openly before an independent tribunal.

International human rights law itself permits restrictions on the enjoyment of human rights in emergency circumstances. Article 4 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights provides that some human rights may be restricted in "time of public emergency which threatens the life of the nation" provided that the emergency is officially proclaimed and is notified to the United Nations Secretary General, that measures taken under the state of emergency are no more than what is "strictly required by the exigencies of the situation" and that the measures do not discriminate on the basis of race, colour, sex, language, religion or social origin.

Detainees in U.K. prisons have complained of long periods of isolation; lack of access to health care, exercise of religion, and educational services; lack of exercise; obstacles to visits from friends

and family; and psychological trauma associated with the uncertainty of when they will be released. Concerns about the use of torture have also arisen in connection with other aspects of U.K.'s participation in the international campaign against terrorism. In December 2002, the U.S. forces were using "stress and duress" techniques in their interrogations of al-Qaeda suspects detained on the island of Diego Garcia—part of British-held Indian Ocean Territory—resulted in urgent appeals to the U.K. government to ensure that the detainees' human rights were upheld.

The detainees were originally held in makeshift open-air facilities with chain-link walls until moved to a newly constructed facility on April 28, 2002. According to press reports, the detainees spend twenty-four hours a day in small single -person cells, except for two fifteen minute periods of solitary exercise a week, as well as interrogation sessions. About eighty of the prisoners were held in special high security cells with steel walls that prevented them from communicating with other prisoners. The United States has refused to recognize the applicability of the Geneva Conventions to any of the Afghan war or al-Qaeda detainees held at Guantánamo or elsewhère, including captured members of the Taliban armed forces, although it has insisted that it treats them humanely. It refused to permit competent tribunals to determine whether any of the detained combatants were entitled to prisoner of war status. It has also refused to abide by principles of international human rights law with regard to these detainees, asserting, in effect, that no legal regime applies to them and that in the war against terrorism, the United States may hold such combatants for as long as it chooses. The Guantánamo detainees remain without a legal forum in which they can challenge their detention; a federal judge ruled on July 30, 2002 that U.S. federal courts do not have jurisdiction to hear constitutional claims brought by aliens held by the United States outside U.S. sovereign territory.

Human Rights Watch has documented the mistreatment of non-citizens detained in the September 11 investigation, including: custodial interrogations without access to counsel, prolonged detention without charge, executive decisions overriding judicial orders to release detainees on bond during immigration proceedings, and unnecessarily restrictive conditions--including solitary confinement--under which some "special interest" detainees were held. Guantánamo Bay Detainees Since September 11, the United States has transferred about 650 men captured in connection with the Afghan war or who are suspected of links to al-Qaeda to the U.S. military base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. U.S. officials apparently chose the site both for security purposes as well as because they believed that U.S. courts would refuse to exercise jurisdiction over it – a belief that has been borne out in court cases.

The laws are also not justified if they are a disproportionate response to the emergency and if they discriminate. Yet these laws are being applied almost exclusively against people of West Asian and North African background and those who are Muslim.

The war on terrorism has generated more general concerns beyond concern for the specifics of legislation proposed or enacted in its name. The first is a concern about the new debate on torture. Under international law torture is one of the most serious violations of human rights. It is considered unacceptable anywhere in any circumstances. It is one of the rights that can never be restricted, even in "time of public emergency which threatens the life of the nation".

Usual methods are being used in interrogation under the present circumstances but they deny that these measures constitute torture. Past and present intelligence agents have admitted that torture is used and argued that its use should be extended as a means of obtaining information about terrorists and about potential terrorist attacks. Amnesty International (2001) also condemns the use of torture and remains concerned over the well being of detainees, especially in light of reports that many of those arrested in the wake of the attacks were denied prompt access to lawyers or relatives.

In its comprehensive investigation on the mistreatment of post-September 11th detainees, Human Rights Watch (2002a) chronicles civil liberties and human rights infractions. Among the most serious problems are: denial of access to counsel, custodial interrogations without access to counsel, abusive interrogations, arbitrary detention, detaining non-citizens without charge, detainees denied release on bond or held on extraordinarily high bond, and continued detention despite a release order. Investigations also reveal detainees subjected to harsh conditions of confinement, compounded by verbal and physical abuse, denied adequate medical attention, and housed with suspected or convicted criminals.

A leading US academic, an internationally recognised human rights expert, has said that the elimination of torture is impossible and perhaps even undesirable when terrorist attacks are possible and so, he has said, the law should seek not to prohibit torture but to control it by providing for its use to be authorised only at the highest level of government and only subject to measures of public accountability. This proposal is totally unacceptable because torture is totally unacceptable.

Some police and military officers have argued against torture on pragmatic grounds, that information obtained under torture is inherently unreliable and so acting on it may lead to grave error. That's true. But far more important is the principle that torture is never acceptable, that it is always a serious violation of a fundamental human right.

The War on Terrorism then has resulted in challenges to some of the most deeply held moral and ethical values and the observance of some of the most fundamental human rights. And now we have the War against Iraq.

The War on Terrorism is a response to actual events, not only the attacks of 11 September 2001 in the United States but also terrorist attacks before and after that in many parts of the world, including the Bali bombing. Although there is sound debate about the nature of the response and its proportionality, there is no doubt that a response is legitimate and lawful.

Two recent events account for the hypocritical duality with which some states are manipulating the concept of human rights well into the 21st century. In the first place, on February 7, 2007, the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance that criminalises the use of secret prisons was signed in Paris by some sixty countries (most of them from Europe, but not the United States). And a few days later, on February 14, a report accusing those same European governments of complicity with the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), in operations involving clandestine kidnappings, was approved at the European Parliament in Strasbourg. According to this report, between 2001 and 2005, CIA aircrafts made no less than 1,245 stopovers at

European airports, often carrying suspects who were victims of "enforced disappearance", being clandestinely sent to Guantánamo or prisons in allied countries (Egypt, Morocco) where torture is a regular practice.

Among the most innovative and the most shocking of the many violations to which the war on terror has given rise is the practice of 'extraordinary rendition'. Reliable reports are increasing of the kidnapping and secret transfer of individuals without any process of law to various locations and/or to third states for what has been referred to as detention or torture by proxy. This is straightforwardly a violation of many human rights, on account not only of its eventual purpose – torture, arbitrary detention or other serious violation – but also due to the procedural arbitrariness that attends it and, most insidiously, the effect of removing the person from the protection of law and withholding information from that person and his or her family. The latter characteristic has led to this practice being described as enforced disappearance.

The 'terrorism' label has been applied liberally since 9/11, without clarity as to its scope (the term being undefined or ill-defined), often without due process, and with serious consequences for those thus branded or others associated with them. Perhaps the most obvious manifestation of this phenomenon are the various terrorism 'lists' established at national, regional and (under the Security Council's watchful eye) international level. While systems and safeguards vary, the problem with these lists is often the lack of transparency around the reasons for inclusion in them, and the lack of meaningful opportunity to challenge such inclusion. Little by little, litigation is seeking to call governments to account for decisions made in this respect, and to provide a degree of judicial oversight at least to temper an otherwise opaque and arbitrary practice.

In many cases the judiciary has shown its reluctance to make determinations that may impact on security, refusing, for example, to question executive assessments of the existence of an emergency. But when particular practices H. Duffy – Human rights litigation and the 'war on terror ' have come under scrutiny, the courts in diverse systems have often and increasingly proved themselves willing – in some cases promptly, in other cases after painstaking process and only as a matter of genuine last resort – to criticize the legitimacy, necessity or proportionality of particular measures.

The war against Iraq, on the other hand, is presented as a pre-emptive war under a new doctrine enunciated by the present US Administration. Unfortunately for the United States, international law does not recognize this new doctrine of pre-emption. International law permits resort to war in two circumstances only, when authorised by the United Nations Security Council in response to a declared threat to international peace and security and when there is an actual attack or an immediate threat of an actual attack but then only until such time as the Security Council takes charge of the situation. Neither of these conditions have been met and so the War against Iraq is unlawful. For instance, the arguments stating that Saddam Hussein's regime was hiding weapons of mass destruction and had been a partner with Al-Qaeda in the 9/11 attacks were never proved and even so the Bush administration invaded Iraq, overthrew Hussein and set up a "democratic" government serving US interests.

43 international lawyers, almost every significant international lawyer in the country, made a joint statement that "[t]he initiation of a war against Iraq by the self-styled 'coalition of the willing' would be a

fundamental violation of international law". More recently the top international lawyers in the United Kingdom issued a similar joint statement. In the United States individual international lawyers have made their own statements, almost all again expressing the view that this war is unlawful. This is far more than an academic argument when thousands of lives are at stake.

The government of the United States does not care whether the war is lawful or not. They are determined to wage war and all this legal debate is merely a distraction to them. Had they been sincere in their protestation that the war is lawful, in the face of firm views to the contrary by the acknowledged experts, these governments would have sought the opinion of the one body established with authority to give a conclusive view, the International Court of Justice. The UN Charter establishes the Court to decide issues like these.

The most urgent issue now is the actual conduct of the war. International humanitarian law governs how nations and their armed forces should conduct themselves during war. All the nations in the US coalition are bound by international humanitarian law and so must ensure that civilians are not deliberately targeted, that actions that might endanger civilians are avoided, that prisoners of war are treated properly and so on.

The war on terrorism has killed many more people than the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001. The war against Iraq will kill many times that number again. The truth is that, according to various reports including one by National Intelligence Council revealed by The New York Times on 24 September 2006, not only has the invasion and occupation of Iraq (with all its abuses) failed in halting international terrorism but, on the contrary, it has contributed to fuel terrorism worldwide and to strengthen Islamic radicalism toward the West.

Human security is a major pre-occupation in today's world. That is understandable. Ensuring security for every human being around the world is one of the major challenges facing us. In addressing these concerns it is needed to enhance the search for common ground. Human rights provide that common ground. Government needs to build commitment to observing human rights law, not to violating it.

EXPECTED QUESTION:

- **War on terror has violated human rights**
- **War on terror and its repercussion on human rights**

ENERGY CRISIS IN PAKISTAN

OUTLINE

- ❑ Introduction
  - Energy, a demand for all fields
  - Cheap ways of producing Energy
- ❑ Causes
  - Lack of dams
  - Inability to explore coal: 6th largest coal reserves in the world
  - Lack of renewable energy sources
  - Problem of circular debt
  - Losses in transmission and distribution
  - Wastage of energy
  - Domestic and household consumption
  - Aging of the equipment
  - Wastage of energy
  - High cost of fuel
- ❑ Effects
  - Economic loss
  - Agricultural loss
  - Closure of indurtries
  - Umemployment
  - Social issues
- ❑ Energy Policy (2013-2018)
- ❑ Suggestions
  - Alternative sources of energy
    Wind
    Solar
    Biomass
    Tidal
    Nuclear power
  - Building of dams
    Long term dams
    Medium term dams
    Short term dams
  - Exploit the coal reserves
  - Regional gas and oil pipelines
    IPI project
    TAPI project
  - Updating the system of transmission and distribution
- ❑ Conclusion

ESSAY

Energy is the lifeline of a nation. The economic engine and the wheels of industry, agriculture and business need energy to move forward. Pakistan faces a major energy crisis in natural gas, power and oil. Power outages usually last 10 –12 hours a day in the cities and more in the rural areas. This has left the industries of Pakistan (mainly agricultural, secondary and tertiary sectors) stunned and so they are unable to fully operate. This has a very negative impact on the economy of the country. The demand of energy in Pakistan is huge, and cannot be fulfilled by electricity production based on oil. It can only meet 20% of our requirement through native production and the remaining oil is imported from Gulf States and other countries. No major oil, field has been discovered in last three decades. It is clear that other alternative production methods must be considered to meet the demand. Most likely one that is cheap, considering initial setup cost, and costs attached.

The second method of production we use is thermal (i-e using coal to produce electricity). Pakistan has been blessed with wealthy mineral resources, but the sad part is that we are too ignorant to explore them. We are sitting on gold mines and yet we do nothing about it. Balochistan, for instance, is rich with all sorts of minerals and could be exploited heavily. If we could solve the feudal problems of the provinces, and let the national and international companies explore the area, we might solve our fuel problems too. But this is a precious non-renewable resource, so we need better options.

Other major option is hydro-electric power generation. This is the cheapest and most feasible way of producing electricity for our country. Two major energy dams in Pakistan are Tarbela and Mangla. If only the proposed Kalabagh dam would be constructed, 80% of our energy needs would be fulfilled. Best option is to construct this dam, and take advantage of the natural hydrography of Pakistan in maximum possible extent.

Wind power and solar power generation are good alternatives as well. Their initial costs are low when compared to other methods, and are definitely in the best interests of our country.

Following are the causes of energy crisis in Pakistan.

In Pakistan, no major dam was constructed after the completion of Mangle and Terbela Dams in early 1980s. Though the demand of electricity was increasing but many governments came and completed their terms but neither government built dams which is the cheapest source of the energy. Pakistan needs to make Kalabagh dam and Basha dams but due to politicisation and lack of dedicated politicians, Pakistan is confrontin the problem of energy crisis. Electricity from hydel cost us Rs. 2-4 rupee per unit.

Pakistan is blessed with large amount of the coal. No serious work is done to explore the coal for power generation. This is complained that the coal quality is inferior.However, ready-made solutions are available to burn any type of coal. Government is looking for private sector to play its role. In our opinion, the government itself should come forward and install the power plants on the site of coal mines only.

The government is not producing electricity from nenewable source of energy such as wind, solar, tidal, biogas, etc.Though Pakistan has maximum summars suiting for solar energy but there are huge taxes which are paid while purchasing this technology. Through solar, Pakistan can produce up to 1,00,000 MW electricity. Besides, wind energy has a potential of producing 50,000 MW electricity but Pakistan is not producing from this cheapest source. If a serious work is done then the total

shortage can be met from Hydro and wind power sector.It is also suggested that small loans should be provided to consumers to install small hydro and solar cells for one family usage of electricity.

One of the main reasons for the serious shortfall in the generation of thermal electricity is the problem of the "circular debt" which the present government inherited from the previous regime. In 2007, the government did not compensate the power companies for the subsidy that was being provided to consumers. The power companies in turn could not pay the oil and gas companies, reducing their liquidity to import the furnace oil that was needed to generate electricity. The interim government, before the elections, in fact, forced the commercial banks to lend Rs34bn to the oil companies whose credit limits were already exhausted. This problem of "circular debt" became more serious in the summer of 2008, as petroleum prices jumped from $100 to $147 a barrel. It is really surprising that this problem has become the main cause of increasing load-shedding but has not so far been addressed on a priority basis. In 2015 the circular debt reached Rs.600 billion.

Very heavy line losses in transmission and distribution because of old and poorly maintained transmission systems, estimated at over 20 per cent compared to eight to ten per cent in other countries. Large scale theft of electricity as clearly revealed by the growing difference between units generated or purchased and those paid for.

Wastage of energy by the industry which consumes 30 per cent of total electricity due to less efficient systems and other practices. For example, the Chinese consume 30 per cent less electricity in textile mills because they use water partially heated by solar panels in their boilers. Overuse of energy by the transport sector (consuming 28 per cent of total energy) due to old and poorly tuned engines.

Domestic and household consumption which uses 45 per cent of total electricity also depicts wasteful and unnecessary uses of lights, air-conditioners and large-scale illuminations on different occasions. The problems outlined above reveal many structural flaws in our energy system. These include over-dependence on imported energy, inadequate political will, limited financial support and very weak implementation capacity.

One very important reason attributed to this energy shortage is the aging of the generating equipment which could not develop the electricity as per the design requirement. This is the responsibility of continuous updating the equipment and keeping the high standard of maintenance. we sincerely think a serious thought should be given for general overhaul and maintenance of existing equipment to keep them in good working order.

So far energy conservation is concerned,newspaperspay lip service in seminars. No serious thought is being given to utilize the energy at the optimum level. A new culture need to develop to conserve energy. Some times on government level illiteracy is blamed for the failure of the energy conservation program. this is not true,. Maximum energy is consumed by elite class which controls all the resources of knowledge and communication. But for their own luxury they themselves ignore the problem. Government should seriously embark on energy conservation program.

Following are the effects of energy crisis in Pakistan.

Energy is pivotal for running all other resources and crisis of energy directly influences all other sectors of the economy. The economic progress is hampered by decline in agricultural productivity as well as by halting in operations of industries. One important factor of lower GDP and inflation of commodity prices in recent years is attributed to shortfalls in energy supply. Pakistan is facing high cost of production due to several factors like energy crisis, the hike in electricity tariff, the increase in interest rate, devaluation of Pakistani rupee, increasing cost of

inputs, political instability, removal of subsidy & internal dispute. The above all factors increase the cost of production which decreases the exports. Exports receipts decrease from $ 10.2 B to $ 9.6 B. The global recession also hit badly the textile industry. Double digit inflation also caused decrease in production in textile sector.

Agricultural productivity of Pakistan is decreasing due to provision of energy for running tube wells, agricultural machinery and production of fertilizers and pesticides. Thus higher energy means higher agricultural productivity.

Nearly all Industrial units are run with the energy and breakage in energy supply is having dire consequences on industrial growth. As a result of decline in energy supply, industrial units are not only being opened, but also the existing industrial units are gradually closing.

By closure of industrial units and less agricultural productivity, new employment opportunities ceased to exist and already employed manpower is shredded by the employers to increase their profit ratios. Thus energy crisis contributes towards unemployment.

Pakistan's textile industry is going through one of the toughest periods in decades. The global recession which has hit the global textile really hard is not the only cause for concern. Serious internal issues including energy crisis affected Pakistan's textile industry very badly. The high cost of production resulting from an instant rise in the energy costs has been the primary cause of concern for the industry. Depreciation of Pakistani rupee during last year has significantly raised the cost of imported inputs. Furthermore, double digit inflation and high cost of financing have seriously affected the growth in the textile industry. Pakistan's textile exports in turn have gone down during last three years as exporters cannot effectively market their produce since buyers are not visiting Pakistan due to adverse travel conditions and it is getting more and more difficult for the exporters to travel abroad. Pakistan's textile industry is lacking in research &development.The production capability is very low due to obsolete machinery and technology.

This factor is primarily related to the domestic usage of energy (cooking, heating and water provision). Load shedding causes unrest and frustration amongst the people and results in agitation against the government.

The government has finally formulated the much-awaited National Energy Policy 2013-18. Under the policy, power sector subsidy will be phased out by 2018 and loadshedding will be ended by 2017. It aims at generating surplus electricity in 2018, privatising government-owned power plants and a few power distributing companies (Discos), bringing the double digit cost of power generation to a single digit, restructuring the water and power ministry, National Electric Power Regulatory Authority (Nepra), Oil and gas Regulatory Authority (Ogra), adjustment of outstanding dues owed by public and private organisations through federal adjusters and formation of regional transmission and power trading system. The policy comprises seven points envisions a profitable, bankable and investment-friendly power sector which meets the nation's needs and boosts its economy in a sustainable and affordable manner while adhering to the most efficient generation, transmission and distribution standards.

To achieve the long-term vision of the power sector and overcome its challenges, the government has set the following goals: Build a power generation capacity that can meet the country's energy needs in a sustainable manner; create a culture of energy conservation and responsibility; ensure generation of inexpensive and affordable electricity for domestic, commercial and industrial use; minimise pilferage and adulteration in fuel supply; promote world class efficiency in power

generation; create a cutting edge transmission network; minimise financial losses across the system; and align the ministries involved in the energy sector and improve governance.

There are various methods to solve the energy crisis in Pakistan.

Though wind, Pakistan has potentials of wind energy ranging from 10000 MW to 50000 MW, yet power generation through wind is in initial stages in Pakistan and currently 06 MW has been installed in first phase in Jhampir through a Turkish company and 50 MW will be installed shortly. More wind power plants will be built in Jhampir, Gharo, Keti Bandar and Bin Qasim Karachi.

Solar power involves using solar cells to convert sunlight into electricity, using sunlight hitting solar thermal panels to convert sunlight to heat water or air. Pakistan has potential of more than 100,000 MW from solar energy. Building of solar power plants is underway in Kashmir, Punjab, Sindh and Balochistan. However, private vendors are importing panels / solar water heaters for consumption in the market. Alternative Energy Development Board (AEDB) is working for 20,000 solar water heaters in Gilgit Baltistan. Mobile companies have been asked by the government to shift supply of energy to their transmission towers from petroleum to solar energy panels.

Biomass production involves using garbage or other renewable resources such as sugarcane, corn or other vegetation to generate electricity. When garbage decomposes, methane is produced and captured in pipes and later burned to produce electricity. Vegetation and wood can be burned directly to generate energy, like fossil fuels, or processed to form alcohols. Brazil has one of the largest renewable energy programs from biomass/biodiesel in the world, followed by USA. Alternative Energy Development Board (AEDB) of Pakistan has planned to generate 10 MW of electricity from municipal waste in Karachi followed by similar projects in twenty cities of country.

Tidal power can be extracted from Moon-gravity-powered tides by locating a water turbine in a tidal current. The turbine can turn an electrical generator, or a gas compressor, that can then store energy until needed. Coastal tides are a source of clean, free, renewable, and sustainable energy. Plans are underway in Pakistan to harness tidal energy; however, no implementation has been made so far.

Nuclear power stations use nuclear fission reaction to generate energy by the reaction of uranium inside a nuclear reactor. Pakistan has a small nuclear power program, with 425 MW capacity, but there are plans to increase this capacity substantially. Since Pakistan is outside the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, it is excluded from trade in nuclear plant or materials, which hinders its development of civil nuclear energy. Remaining issues in development of nuclear energy are enrichment of uranium from U235 to U238, controlling chain reaction and dumping of solid waste.

Pakistan has potential of hydro resources to generate 41000 to 45000 MW, however, only 6555 MW is currently being generated by this important renewable resource. Four large hydro power dams namely Kalabagh 3600 MW, Bhasha 4500 MW, Bunji 5400 MW and Dasu 3800 MW can be constructed to generate hydro electricity. Similarly, many small to medium hydro plants can be installed on rivers and cana's etc.

The longer term solution of the energy crisis will be to restore the hydro-thermal mix to 60:40 or at least 50:50 in the next five years. The Water Accord of 1991 had opened the way for constructing many dams to store water and generate electricity. But the continuing controversy over the KalabaghDam became a major obstacle. Surprisingly, even many smaller and non-controversial hydroelectric projects have been delayed without any justification. The hydel projects in the pipeline include the following: Neelum Jhelum (969 MW), Tarbela Fourth Extension (960 MW), SukiKinari

(840 MW), Munda Dam (700 MW), Khan Dubar (130 MW), Allai (126 MW) and Jinnah Hydro electric power project (96 MW).

Pakistan has the world's sixth largest reserves of coal, after the recent discoveries in Thar. The total coal reserve in Pakistan is about 175 billion tons. The current coal production is only 3.5 million tons per year, which is mostly used for the brick and cement industry. Coal has typical problems, such as a high sulphur content (it produces sulphur dioxide, the source of acid rain), mineral matter content (leading to ash and pollution problems), carbon dioxide emission (contributing to global warming) and high moisture content. However, technologies are available to minimise all of these. Conversion technologies are currently under development to convert coal into environmentally-friendly methanol and hydrogen gas to be used as clean fuel. The US is working on a major initiative called future gen to produce "zero emission" power plants of the future. Thar coal can be cleaned and the sulphur reduced so that it can be burnt in conventional coal power plants and also converted into gas. Coal gasification is a slightly more expensive process, but the gas from coal is a proven and cleaner technology. The Chinese had prepared a feasibility report in 2005 to produce 3,000 MW at 5.8 cents per unit, but the project could not move forward because they were offered only 5.3 cents.

There are also many possibilities of regional cooperation in building gas and oil pipelines. These include the Iran-Pakistan-India gas pipeline; the Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan gas pipeline; an oil, gas and electricity corridor from Gwadar to Western China, the import of 1,000 MW electricity from Ragun hydro station in Tajikistan for which an agreement was signed in March 1992 at the rate of 3.3 cents per unit.

The worldwide electricity production, as per the World Bank, is as follows: coal: 40 per cent; gas 19 per cent; nuclear 16 per cent; hydro 16 per cent; oil seven per cent. Pakistan's power production is gas 48 per cent; hydro 33 per cent; oil 16 per cent; nuclear two per cent, and coal 0.2 per cent. There has been a global trend to shift away from oil because of its rising price expected to reach $100 a barrel by the end of this year depending on the international geopolitical situation. Despite the lowest cost of hydroelectric power, there have been environmental, ecological and geopolitical concerns over the building of large dams. The supply of natural gas in Pakistan has been depleting over the years, and the country is now looking at the option of importing gas from Qatar and Central Asia. This leaves the possibility of exploring nuclear, coal and other alternative energy sources. Nuclear energy and coal form the lowest source of power production in Pakistan. On the other hand, the world average for nuclear energy is 16 per cent and for coal 40 per cent. Let us first consider these two potential sources of electric power production for Pakistan. The US obtains 20 per cent of its electric power from nuclear-energy with 104 reactors; France 78 per cent with 59 reactors, Japan 24 per cent with 54 reactors, the UK 23 per cent with 31 reactors, and so on. Even India has signed a civilian nuclear cooperation agreement with the United States to develop its nuclear capability for power generation and economic development. It has currently six reactors in operation with a capacity of 3750 MW, and another six with a capacity of 3,340 MW are under construction.

The new agreement will further boost the nuclear power generating capacity of India. Today, nuclear power plants have average capacities of 600 — 1,000 MW. Pakistan only produces two per cent of its power through two reactors (Karachi and Chashma at 137 MW and 300 MW respectively). Pakistan is a nuclear technologically advanced country with capabilities to produce fuel, yet falls behind most other countries, including India, in terms of nuclear power production. Regarding coal power generation, the US produces 51 per cent of its power using coal, Poland 96

per cent, South Africa 94 per cent, India 68 per cent, Australia 77 per cent, China 79 per cent, Israel 77 per cent, UK 35 per cent, Japan 28 per cent, while Pakistan produces only 0.2 per cent of its power through coal.

In Pakistan, smaller windmills are now visible, such as the ones at Gharo, where SZABIST set up an experimental research station many years ago. The Sindh government has recently announced plans to build a 50 MW wind farm in the vicinity in the coastal region at Gharo. Solar power (photovoltaic or thermal) is another alternative energy source option that is generally considered feasible for tropical and equatorial countries. Even though the accepted standard is 1,000 W/m2 of peak power at sea level, an average solar panel (or photovoltaic — PV — panel), delivers an average of only 19-56W/m2. Solar plants are generally used in cases where smaller amounts of power are required at remote locations. PV is also the most expensive of all options making it less attractive.

EXPECTED QUESTION:

- **Energy is considered as a main contributor in the development of any country but in Pakistan, enery crisis is worsening day by day. Discuss indetail.**
- **What are the causes and effects of Energy Crisis in Pakistan?**
- **Give remedies to overcome Energy Crisis in Pakistan.**

WATER CRISIS IN PAKISTAN AND ITS REMEDIES (CSS-2016)

OUTLINE

- ❑ World Bank (WB) and Asian Development Bank (ADB) report
- ❑ Causes of water crisis
  - No dams construction
  - Dispute between the provinces
  - Demands of Sindh
  - Punjab's role
  - Lack of proper water management
  - Climate change
  - Mismanagement of resources
- ❑ Indian propaganda since 1947
  - Standstill Agreement
  - Role of the president of the World Bank
  - Indus Basin Treaty 1960
  - Wullar Barrage (The Tulbal Navigation Lock)
  - Kishanganga Project
  - Baghlihar Dam
- ❑ Sources of water
  - Indus River
  - Closed basin Kharan desert
  - Makran coastal basin
  - Water reservoirs / capacities
  - Terbela dam reservoir
  - Mangla dam reservoir
  - Chashma barrage reservoir
  - Utilisation of water
  - Irrigation
  - Power generation
  - Drinking
  - Industry
- ❑ Water and agriculture
- ❑ Impact on economy
- ❑ Recommendations
  - Chasha dam
  - Kalabagh dam
  - Thal reservoir
  - Raised Mangla dam
  - Mirani dam
  - Gomalzam dam
  - Water management
  - Use of alternative soruces of energy
- ❑ Conclusion

ESSAY

According to the World Bank (WB) and Asian Development Bank (ADB), Pakistan is one of the most "water stressed" countries in the world; it is likely to face an acute water shortage over the next five years due to lack of water availability for irrigation, industry and human consumption. A WB report states that water supply in Pakistan has fallen from 5,000 cubic meters per capita to 1,000 cubic meters in 2010, and is likely to further reduce to 800 cubic meters per capita by 2020. Contributory factors consist of increase in population, climate change, lack of a solid vision to construct water reservoirs, and misplaced use of Jhelum and Chenab rivers by India under the Indus Water Treaty (IWT) of 1960 that has resulted in reduced flow of water to Pakistan. The water crisis has two dimensions. First is the distribution of water among the four provinces, particularly between Punjab and Sindh. The second is between Pakistan and India arising because of utilizing water from Chenab and Jhelum rivers. The first problem basically arises from the second one.

India got the right to fully utilize water from the three eastern rivers; Ravi, Bias and Sutlej, while Pakistan was to utilize water from the three western rivers; Indus, Chenab and Jhelum under the Indus Water Treaty (IWT). India was also permitted limited irrigation of 1.343 million acres (2.85 MAF) from western rivers. Water for Pakistan was not quantified. However, it is implied in the treaty that India is not to exceed the specified limit for water utilization. If India continues with its current strategy of building dams on Chenab and Jhelum rivers, then there would be serious implications for Pakistan's agriculture and national security. It would aggravate the already strained relationship between the two countries, which is due to the unresolved Kashmir issue. A very strong perception exists in Pakistan that India in its quest to utilize water from Chenab and Jhelum rivers and is not fulfilling its obligations under the IWT. It wants to constrict the flow of water to Pakistan. This strategy has a hidden political agenda to create scarcity of irrigation water that would hurt Pakistan's economy and agriculture sector in between 10-15 years. The national interests of both the countries would be best served if India honoured its commitments under the IWT. But, is India ready to address Pakistan's concerns or wants to safeguard its own interests by violating the IWT that could lead to worsening of relations between the two countries?

The water crisis at the national level exists due to the following reasons:

(a) In the past, the public leadership did not succeed to develop a consensus on construction of huge water reservoirs, particularly the Kalabagh dam that could have addressed many of the power and water problems which are being faced today.

(b) Provinces are in dispute over their respective share of water under the IWT, with particular reference to utilizing water for Kharif and Rabi seasons through link canals managed by the Indus River System Authority (Irsa). Irsa has stopped satisfying Punjab, Sindh and Balochistan provinces over distribution of irrigation water for current Rabi season because of 34.0 per cent shortage of water, primarily due to construction of Baglihar dam on Chenab. Water supply would be further constricted because of planned construction of Basrur multi-power project, Siwalkot dam, and Pakot Dul dam on Chenab river by India. Unless resolved it would continue to be a recurring problem.

(c) The Sindh Assembly has demanded scrapping of hydropower project on Chashma Jhelum link canal, a key project for the Punjab government. There is a strong perception in Sindh that the project would constrict flow of water to the province and hurt its agriculture as well.

(d) Punjab is accused of stealing 16,000 cusecs of water between Taunsa and Guddu, from 2nd to 4th Feb, 2010. The Punjab government claims that system losses are to blame for the water that has disappeared.

(e) Because of an absence of proper water management essentially at secondary canal level, water crisis, particularly at the lower parts of these canals, is very evident. Coupled with flood irrigation, either irrigation by flooding basins or using old Punchoo system, water crisis keeps on increasing its intensity day by day. IRSA has no telemetry system and we cannot decide to distribute water by going beyond letter sense and include the spirit of the Water Apportionment Accord of 1991, we do not see an end of this water crisis in Pakistan.

As far as the scarcity of water in Pakistan is concerned, apparently it has also to do with

1. Climatic changes
2. Negligence and mismanagement of water resources by successive governments in Pakistan

The global warming has led to melting of the Himalayan glaciers and consequent depletion in the flow of water into the Indus River system. The trend is likely to continue with rising temperature. It is not that only agricultural sector, the backbone of Pakistan's economy, is suffering; due to depleting water supply, there is reduced power-generation from the hydroelectric plants, having a devastating impact on the country's industries too. Pakistan has no control over the nature. However, it can improve the management of water resources. Pakistan needs to address the following problems on urgent basis:

1. The silting of dams and barrages is a continuous process. Due to heavy sediments carried by the rivers, Tarbela, Mangla and Chasma Dams have lost nearly 25% of their capacity.
2. An estimated 40% of water that run through canals is lost because of seepage. The reason is the canal beds and banks are unlined, poorly lined or porous.
3. Traditional and antiquated agricultural techniques lead to excessive loss of water.
4. While water intensive varieties of crops, like sugarcane and rice, are cultivated. Optimum crop rotation is imperative but is not done effectively.

On 2 June 2008, Pakistan's National Economic Council met under the Chairmanship of Prime Minister Syed Yousuf Raza Gilani and approved the development strategy based on the Medium Term Development Framework 2005-10. The water sector part of the overall strategy concentrates on water augmentation, water conservation and effective use of water. It calls for the development of additional medium and large-size reservoirs with priority.

The water storages to be completed, by 2016 include Akhori Dam, Basha-Diamer Dam, Kalabagh Dam and Munda Dam. Simultaneously the ongoing projects such as raising the structures of Mangla Dam, Gomal Dam, Satpra Dam, Kurram Tangi Dam and Sabakzai Dam are also to be the top priority. The Medium Term Development Framework 2005-10 also envisages a number of other measures, including reclamation of land from water logging and salinity, improvement of watercourses and ground-water management etc. Last year, 20 different UN bodies had warned; "Water is linked to the crisis of climate change, energy and food supplies and prices, and troubled financial markets. Unless their links with water are addressed and water crises around the world are resolved, these other crises may intensify and local water crises may worsen, converging into a global water crisis and leading to political insecurity and conflict at various levels."

In a recent report, the United Nations has estimated that Pakistan's water supply has dropped from about 5,000 cubic meters per person in the 1950s to about 1,420 cubic meters. Any further drop would seriously jeopardize economic growth and would be a health hazard. Notwithstanding Indus Basin Treaty, The need for effective international co-operation among riparian countries is greater

now than ever before. The demand for water in all countries is escalating and increasingly the harmful effects of activities in upstream countries are being observed. Over a third of the 200 international river basins, are not covered, by an international agreement; only some 30, including Pakistan and India, have co-operative institutional arrangements.

Clearly, efforts are needed to formulate and reach agreement on an international "code of conduct" or convention in the utilization of shared water basins so that the water needs of some countries are not undermined by irresponsible utilization of water resources by others. Improved international co-operation is also necessary regarding the transfer of knowledge and technology in the water resources field. The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Non-Navigational Uses of International Watercourses, 1998, sets the standard for all agreements involving the shared use of trans boundary water resources. It specifically establishes the dual criteria of "equitable and reasonable utilization" of the water resources and the need to "exchange data and consult on the possible effects of planned measures on the condition" of the water resource. The U.N. Convention provides the overall framework for Trans boundary water sharing.

The partition of the South Asian Subcontinent on 14 August 1947 into the dominions of India and Pakistan gave birth to a host of problems, including that of the sharing of waters of the mighty Indus River System. The issue was of concern to Pakistan because the head works of the rivers that irrigated Pakistan's Punjab province mostly went to the Indian side. On 30 December 1947, Pakistan and India concluded a 'Standstill Agreement' for a three-month period under which Pakistan continued to receive water supply from the head works of Madhopur on River Ravi and Ferozepur on River Sutlej, the two tributaries of River Indus. As the interim arrangement ended on 31 March 1948, the next day the Government of Indian Punjab stopped the supply of water to Pakistan from the Madhopur headwork, affecting, according to one estimate, 5.5% of Pakistan's irrigated area.

Pakistan raised the issue at the Inter-Dominion Conference held on 3-4 May 1948. India dismissed Pakistan's claim over water, from the head works on its side as a matter of right but agreed to release water as a provisional arrangement. It was thus abundantly clear that slowly and gradually the quantity of water would be reduced. In 1951, David Lilienthal, who had formerly served as Chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority and as Chairman of the US Atomic Energy Commission, undertook a research tour of Pakistan and India for writing a series of articles. In one of his articles, he opined that it would be very beneficial for the region if the two countries cooperated to jointly develop and operate the Indus Basin river system. He further suggested that the World Bank might play its role in bringing India and Pakistan to agree on some plan to develop the Indus river system for mutual benefit.

President of the World Bank, Eugene Black, picked up the idea and offered his good offices to resolve the issue of water sharing between India and Pakistan. The two neighbors welcomed the initiative and after tough bargaining during the protracted negotiations that spread, over nine years arrived at the contours of the agreement. Broad parameters thus settled the work of drafting began. Finally, in September 1960, President of Pakistan Field Marshall Mohammad Ayub Khan and Prime Minister of India Jawaharlal Nehru signed the Indus Water Treaty in Karachi.

Following are the provisions of the Indus Basin Treaty 1960

1. Pakistan surrendered three eastern rivers, Ravi, Sutlej and Beas to India with some minor rights to Pakistan.
2. Largely three western rivers namely Indus, Jhelum and Chenab remained with Pakistan.

3. India was allowed to use water from the western rivers for irrigation of 642,000 acres of land that were already being irrigated from these rivers along with an entitlement to further irrigate 701,000 acres for crops.
4. India was also given specified entitlement for 'other' storages, including, power and flood storages i.e., storages for non-consumptive purposes.
5. Pakistan was to meet the requirements of its eastern river canals from the western rivers by constructing replacement works.
6. Both parties are bound to, regularly exchange flow-data of rivers, canals and streams.
7. A permanent Indus Water Commission, with one Commissioner from each side, was to be set up to resolve issues.
8. The procedures were set out for settlement of 'questions' 'differences' and 'disputes' bilaterally and through neutral experts and International Court of Arbitration as the case might be.

Since Pakistan required considerable time to build necessary infrastructure to divert water from western rivers to eastern rivers and their canals on its side, India was to allow the 'historic withdrawals' on the part of Pakistan during the transitory period. According to the Treaty, two dams (Mangla on River Jhelum and Tarbela on River Indus) were to be built. It also envisaged five barrages Marala and Qadirabad on River Chenab, Sidhnai on River Ravi, Rasul on River Jhelum, Chashma on River Indus and Mailsi on River Sutlej. Besides, one siphon and seven link canals (Rasul-Qadirabad on Rivers Jhelum-Chenab, Qadirabad-Balloki on Rivers Chenab-Ravi, Balloki-Suleimanki II and Sidhnai-Mailsi on Rivers Ravi-Sutlej, Chashma-Jhelum on Rivers Indus-Jhelum and Trimmu-Sidhnai on Rivers Indus-Ravi), to be constructed in Pakistan.

To meet the financial cost, India was to pay a fixed amount of US $ 62.060 million over a period of ten years. An international consortium pledged US $ 900 million. The World Bank was to administer the Indus Basin Development Fund. The Indus Basin Project was completed despite all hurdles those included opposition and reservations from many quarters in Pakistan who felt that Pakistan's rights as a lower riparian state had been compromised. This amounted to a successful resolution of a major dispute over the world's largest, contiguous irrigation system with a command area of about 20 million hectares.

Although the Indus Water Treaty has been a remarkable success story, lately some projects undertaken by India in Occupied territory of Jammu and Kashmir – from where the western rivers flow into Pakistan – have become major irritants and raised serious concerns in Pakistan:

India has embarked upon the construction of a huge network of water storage facility, the national river linking project at an estimated cost of $120 bn likely to be completed by 2016. It includes construction of Basrur multi-power project, Siwalkot dam and Pakot Dul dam on Chenab, in addition to the already constructed Baglihar dam. In 1985, India started construction of a barrage known as 'Wullar Barrage (The Tulbal Navigation Lock)' some 439 feet long and with a lock at the mouth of Wullar Lake, the largest fresh water Lake in Indian occupied, disputed and held territory. Purportedly but not so innocently, the stated purpose of the barrage was to make possible navigation in 22 km stretch between the towns of Sopore and Baramula, during the lean winter season by regulating the flow of River Jhelum. Pakistan raised objection to this project and the construction work halted in 1987. Pakistan contends that India cannot store water in excess of 0.01 MAF as 'incidental storage' on River Jhelum. Pakistan also apprehends that the Wullar Barrage may cause damage to its own project of linking Jhelum and Chenab with the Upper Bari Doab Canal. One important concern of Pakistan, which is extraneous to the Indus Water Treaty but squarely a security

issue, is that in case of war between the two countries, India would take advantage from its ability to control the flow of water and make the crossing of the river easy or difficult according to strategic and tactical military requirement.

India, as usual, but erroneously contends that the Wullar Barrage would regulate the flow of water into Jhelum and control the floods. It would not reduce the overall quantum of water flow rather increase it during the lean winter season. All fair weather pretension and an obvious ruse, to get away with an extremely hurtful project to Pakistan. The project's impact, India asserts, would be beneficial to Mangla Dam in power generation and to Pakistan's triple canal system due to regulated flow of water. The matter remains unresolved.

Outrageously on the Kishanganga Project, the Indians hawk on the premise that it will ostensibly bring water from River Kishanganga to Wullar Lake, where a hydroelectric power station is proposed. The project envisages construction of a channel and a tunnel for this purpose. Simultaneously to build a dam, near the place where River Kishanganga crosses the Line of Control to enter Pakistan-administered Kashmir, where it is known as Neelum.

Here Pakistan plans to construct 969 MW-capacity Neelum-Jhelum Power Plant with Chinese assistance. The Pakistani project is to going to be completed in 2017, due to delay in construction work. Pakistan is genuinely concerned and fears that the Kishanganga Project would lead to a shortfall of water flow into Neelum, reducing its power generation by an estimated 9%. The Indus Water Treaty does not bar any party from storing water for power generation as per entitlement. However, there is the principle of 'prior appropriation' enshrined in the Treaty. India intends to complete the Kishanganga Project by 2016 to avail the opportunity of diverting Kishanganga'a water to Wullar Lake before Pakistan is able to invoke the provision of prior appropriation. India also claims that Pakistan need not worry because the water diverted by the Kishanganga Project would reach Pakistan through River Jhelum, no matter Neelum-Jhelum project suffers.

In 1999, India began construction work of 470-feet high, 317 meter wide Baghlihar Dam, also known as Baghlihar Hydroelectric Power Project, on River Chenab in Doda District of Indian occupied Kashmir. Although India called it a run-of-the-river project, the dam was to have a 'pond age' of 15 million cubic meters with submerged gate spillways. Pakistan raised objection to the project design on the ground that the submerged gate spillways would enable India to increase the storage capacity of the reservoir and, if India desired, to halt the supply of water to Pakistan for more than three weeks during winter season. Pakistan fears that it would lose between 7000 to 8000 cusecs of water per day for Rabi crops. Pakistan also sensed the danger of inundation of the area above Marala Head Works, if India released water simultaneously from Dulhasti, Baghlihar and Salal Dams into River Chenab. Pakistan viewed the Baghlihar Project as another security risk, in times of tension or war, as India would be able to control the flow of water facilitating or hampering the movement of Indian/Pakistani troops according to its requirement.

After the Indus Water Commission failed to resolve the Baghlihar Dam issue, the matter was referred to the World Bank which acknowledged that the issue amounted to a 'difference' and appointed Professor Raymond Lafitte, a engineer from Switzerland, as the neutral expert to decide the matter. On 12 February 2007, Lafitte gave his verdict directing India to reduce the capacity of 'pond age' by 13.5% and the height of the Dams' structure by 1.5 meter. He also called for raising of power intake tunnels by 3 meters to reduce flow-control capability. Pakistan had reservations about the verdict but both India and Pakistan agreed to abide by it. The matter, it appears, stands closed. It is heartening to see that during its recent visit to Pakistan to discuss Indus Water issues, the Indian delegation conceded that all "water disputes must be resolved within an agreed timeframe." Pakistan's

Indus Commissioner Syed Jamaat Ali Shah told the Indian delegation that reduction in supplies was jeopardizing the water transfer operation to eastern part of Pakistan. He also conveyed the message that Pakistan wanted India to take necessary steps if deforestation and environmental impact affected the river flow on its side.

Now dams will be discussed in detail.

World's largest earth and rock filled dam was built at Terbela on river Indus in 1976 with a gross capacity of 11.62 maf and a live storage capacity of 9.68 maf. With the passage of time, due to silting, 24.6% of the storage has been lost and now it has a live storage of 7.295 maf.

Mangla reservoir is the second major storage of Pakistan. It was built in 1967 on river Jhelum with a gross capacity of 5.882 maf and live storage of 5.41 maf. Again due to siltation it has lost 13.2% of its storage and presently can store 4.636 maf of water.

Chashma barrage is situated on river Indus and was built in 1972 with a gross storage of 0.870 maf and live storage of 0.717 maf. It has also reduced its storage capacity by 39.3% and is left with a storage capacity of 0.435 maf.

In Pakistan we utilize the water available to us for different purposes. The basic utilization is for irrigation and then used for power generation, drinking and also provided to some Industries.

Whereas impact on economy is concerned, according to the estimates of federal government, the agriculture sector would suffer a loss of about Rs. 90 billion because of drought. Since agriculture has remained a major source of shouldering the already crippled economy, it has a vital role to play particularly in terms of food security and employment of the ever-burgeoning population of the country. It contributes around 35 % to the GNP and employs about 44% of labor force. It also contributes 65% of our export earning. The adverse effects of water shortage on agriculture would have a spiraling effect on the prevailing level of poverty.

(a) Less water means less agricultural yields and to fulfill the food requirements of the nation, we will be dependent on other countries.
(b) Raising livestock is the main source of livelihood of rural areas. It is also an important economic activity, which contributes 9.7% of GDP, will be affected due to shortage of water.
(c) Orchards of Pakistan bring home a healthy amount of foreign exchange, which can be affected due water shortage.
(d) Due to less production of main crops, which are wheat, cotton, sugar cane and rice, the Industries related to them will suffer adversely.
(e) Then due to drought and more dependency on ground water for irrigation, the water table will go down, and this will cause water constrains to the population.
(f) Less agricultural outputs will compel people to head towards urban areas for jobs, which will increase the unemployment further.
(g) The distribution of water is controlled from the center by IRSA (Indus river system authority) as per 1991 agreement between the provinces. Now the shortage of water will cause disputes between the provinces, which may cause harm to the national integrity.

So for overcoming the water crises following steps are recommended:

The national water strategy must be based upon two essential elements covering

1. Water developments
2. Water management

In water development, following dams should start immediately:-

Chasha dam would be located 200 miles upstream of Terbela on river Indus. its gross storage capacity would be 7.3 maf and live storage 5.7 maf. Its power generation capacity would be 3360 mw.

Kalabagh dam site is located 132 miles down stream of Terbela. Its gross storage would be 6.1 maf. It would have a power generation of 3600 mw.

Thal reservoir would be located on the right bank of Chashma – Jhelum link canal, along the western bank of river Jhelum. Its reservoir would have gross capacity of 2.3 maf.

In this the present Mangla dam would be further raised by 40 ft and thus increasing its gross capacity to 9.5 maf. In addition, its power generation capacity would be increased by 15%.

Mirani dam is located on Dasht River about 48 km of Turbat town in Mekran division. Its main objective is to provide water for irrigation. Its gross storage is 0.30 maf.

Gomalzam dam is located at Khajori Kach on Gomal River in South Waziristan, about 75 miles from Dera Ismail Khan. Its main objective will be to irrigate 132000 acres of land, power generation of 17.4 mw and flood control.

From these projects we shall be able to store additional 20maf of water.

Managing water resources is the need of time, and we in Pakistan already short of water, must chalk out a strategy. Following are recommended in this regard:-

Presently the losses occur due to seepage, infiltration and leakages etc. seepage results in water logging and these losses can be reduced or eliminated by lining the canals.

In addition, people should be educated to conserve water by cooperation. Further more government should make laws on water conservation, like many western countries.

The second largest contribution to the total water available comes from the groundwater sources. This source has been exploited and very well used by public and private tube wells. It can still provide over nine maf of water. This source can be exploited and judiciously used for irrigation purposes. How ever in some areas ground water is rapidly depleting due to excessive pumpage, authorities should take control in such areas to save them from depleting.

Efforts would be made to convert the present rotation based irrigation system to demand oriented system. The modern irrigation techniques, that is trickling, sprinkling etc, which have a potential to improve water distribution and its utilization.

Authorities should take appropriate steps to curb the illegal extraction of water and ensure its equitable distribution.

Presently irrigation department has failed to stop the illegal theft and extraction; thus irrigation distribution system needs to be privatized through water user associations.

In addition, water, now-a-days is supplied to farmers at a very negligible cost and that is why they do not treat water as a precious resource; therefore there is a need to increase the water prices to make irrigators realize the importance of this asset.

Farmer's organizations, water user association, and private sector must be involved in construction, operation, and maintenance of the irrigation system. Such associations are conceived as a mechanism for creating a cooperative frame work for improvement of watercourses.

The problems faced by the water sector in the country are many, acute and serious and it is also known that we can generate about 83 maf of more water. Therefore, building of more reservoirs and an effective management strategy are the needs of time. Also implementation of the recommendations will enable the country to meet the challenges, and achieve the objectives of integrated, efficient, environmentally and financially sustainable development and management of limited water resources. At the same time, it will enable us to utilize every drop of our water for our bright future.

EXPECTED QUESTION:

- **Water crisis in Pakistan and its solution.**
- **Building dams can overcome energy crisis in Pakistan.**

POPULATION EXPLOSION IN PAKISTAN

OUTLINE

- Definition
- Population in the world
- Conditions in Pakistan
- Population table
- Problems
  - Better medical facility
  - Lack of education
  - Lack of planning of the government as per the resources
  - Desire for a male child
  - Early marriages
  - Abundant food resources
- Effects
  - Effect on economic growth
  - Problems in urban cities like Karachi
  - Effect on agriculture
  - Urbanisation
  - Social evils
- Solution
  - Role of media
  - Role of religious scholar
  - Education for all
  - Resources as well as population
  - Chinese model
- Conclusion

ESSAY

Overpopulation is a condition where an organism's numbers exceed the carrying capacity of its habitat. The term often refers to the relationship between the human population and its environment, the Earth. Steve Jones, head of the biology department at University College London, has said, "Humans are 10,000 times more common than we should be, according to the rules of the animal kingdom, and we have agriculture to thank for that. Without farming, the world population would probably have reached half a million by now." The world's population has significantly increased in the last 50 years, mainly due to medical advancements and substantial increases in agricultural productivity.

The recent rapid increase in human population over the past two centuries has raised concerns that humans are beginning to overpopulate the Earth, and that the planet may not be able to sustain present or larger numbers of inhabitants. The population has been growing continuously since the end of the Black Death, around the year 1400; at the beginning of the 19th century, it had reached roughly 1,000,000,000 (1 billion). Increases in medical technology have led to rapid population growth on a worldwide level. Current projections show a steady decline in the population growth rate, with the population expected to reach between 8 and 10.5 billion between the year 2040 and 2050.

The scientific consensus is that the current population expansion and accompanying increase in usage of resources is linked to threats to the ecosystem. The Inter Academy Panel Statement on Population Growth, which was ratified by 58 member national academies in 1994, called the growth in human numbers "unprecedented", and stated that many environmental problems, such as rising levels of atmospheric carbon dioxide, global warming, and pollution, were aggravated by the population expansion. At the time, the world population stood at 5.5 billion, and low-bound scenarios predicted a peak of 7.8 billion by 2050, a number that current estimates show will be reached around 2022. But in 2011, world population reached 7 billion.

Population explosion is a global problem. It is equally true of Pakistan. Everyday we come across the oft-repeated phrase, "Population Bomb is ticking". A state based on Islamic ideology should be an ideal state. Since its inception, Pakistan had to face the problems of illiteracy, poverty, pollution, unemployment, lawlessness & terrorism, inflation, loans, corruption, defective tax structure, government instability and many more chronic problems. Unless we achieve a control on population, these related problems will not be easily solved.

At the time of partition, the area, which today comprises Pakistan, had a population of 33 million. The following table shows population of Pakistan at different times since its inception.

Year	Population (in millions)
1947	33
1972	66
1998	130.5
2000	140
2010	170
2016	190

According to experts, under the same growth rate, the population of Pakistan would be greater than that of China by the year 2035.

Even after sixty-four years of its independence, Pakistan is still struggling to find a respectable place in the comity of nations. All the efforts made in the past seem to have gone in vain. Every sector of life today tells a sorry tale. The problem that could be blamed for all this sorry mess is overpopulation in the country. Overpopulation emerges as the main villain in Pakistan for a number of reasons. Every other problem mentioned earlier seems to have grown from the demon of this overpopulation.

Literally speaking, overpopulation arises when the resources in a country fell short of meeting the needs of its people. A number of factors could lead to the emergence of overpopulation. Birth rate is the most common indicator that the countries today use to keep a check on population . Pakistan today suffers from a high birth rate in the country. But the birth rate was high even in the past and still overpopulation was nowhere to be seen. What factors today have translated the high birth rate into overpopulation? The advancements in the medical field have led to a sharp decline in the death rate. The life expectancy has increased due to the use of imported health technologies. So, a decline in death rate has in other words led to the problem of overpopulation. Pakistan is a developing country and as many others like it is trying hard to survive in the capitalist world. A huge population of around eighteen crores, that could have been an asset to the country is today a huge liability. Fast increasing population is thus a source of constant danger for Pakistan.

Following is a brief discussion of some of the causes of overpopulation in our country:

- Warm climate (puberty attained by females at an early age)
- Early marriages
- Joint family systems
- Polygamy
- Lack of recreational facilities
- Belief that God is 'Raziq' (belief that every child brings its food with him/her)
- Love for male issues (couple going for more babies)
- Illiteracy, people think that more children mean more working hands

There are three main causes to overpopulation. The first and second are linked to the advancement of medicine and public health, while the third is related to food distribution. Even though these are the main causes today, more causes can come about in the future.

First is the understanding of diseases and the use of medicine. Before the realization of the germ theory, many individuals did not know that diseases were spread through germs such as bacteria and viruses. With the adoption of these practices, humans were able to understand that germs caused these diseases and could be countered through practices such as medicine and vaccinations. With this new knowledge, death rates plummeted and new health practices relating to child birth helped improve birth rates.

Illiteracy is another important cause of overpopulation. Those lacking education fail to understand the need to prevent excessive growth of population. They are unable to understand the harmful effects that overpopulation has. They are unaware of the ways to control population. Lack of family planning is commonly seen in the illiterate lot of the world. This is one of the major factors leading to overpopulation. Due to ignorance, they do not take to family planning measures, thus contributing to a rise in population.

In Pakistan rural areas there is a trend of large number of families and due to lack of awareness and proper knowledge people go on producing more and more children. So this trend could be changed if education will be provided to all members of the society.

We think that we are progressing and adopting new values and trends but this is really not true and this is a fact that parents prefer boys on girls and consider their son as their future asserts. Who can support them later in the life? So desire of male child is also the main reason of population growth in society like Pakistan. So if we want to control the rising population so we should consider boys and girls as same and value them. If this thing will be including in our thinking that girls also support their parents so this will discourage the practice of producing more and more children just for the desire of male child.

Early marriage is also the main reason of increase in population growth. As soon the girl grow parents start thinking for their marriages and when they find the reasonable proposal for them so they are in a hurry that they should get married and leave their education. Early marriages really contribute in rise in population growth and if we want to control it than early marriages should be avoided and education can help in delaying the age of marriage of the girls.

Next is the vast improvement of public health. Public health refers to the acquisition of three basic needs humans need: food, shelter and water. For example, since the creation of plumbing, individuals have had the opportunity of accessing water. Another is the improvement of shelters which also allow humans to survive for longer periods.

Another is the improvement of food distribution. It is amazing to think that food can be transported all over the world and combined with preservation services, such as canned food, certain food can last forever. The improvement of food distribution had ended the worries of starvation in many regions of the world; however, certain regions (such as parts of Africa) still exhibit famines from the lack of food.

Overpopulation has badly hampered the economic growth in the country. High population is responsible for a decline in the per capita income. This leads to a decline in the purchasing power of the people. As the demand for goods decreases then by "Demand & Supply" law, the investment in the country will also suffer. Such a stagnant economy will lead to closing of factories and businesses and in return add to joblessness and poverty. Even if the country somehow is successful in attracting foreign investment, still overpopulation will not allow these investments to have a positive effect on the country's economy. Greater population means more number of hungry souls to feed. With the number of productive earning members in a family small compared to unproductive members, there is felt a drag on limited income of poor families. This is the problem of "Dependency ratio" which is acutely felt in poor countries.

For years, social services in the country have suffered even after sincere efforts by successive governments. The fact remains that more schools, hospitals, and parks are of little comfort if the population keeps on increasing at an alarming rate.

Agriculture is another sector, which has been adversely affected by the rapid increase of population. About 70% of Pakistan's population is employed in the agricultural sector. Overpopulation is even having an adverse effect on agricultural outcome. More population means smaller farms, and that leads to a decline in productivity. Availability of cultivable land in 1990 was 0.17 hector per person and the estimated availability of cultivable land by the year 2025 will be 0.07 hector per person. The same would happen with the forests and also with the availability of fresh water.

People having smaller farms have no other choice but to migrate in hope for a better life. This leads to urbanization, which itself is a major social problem.

Over population has contributed towards an increase in a number of social evils. Lawlessness, crime and corruption are all the result of population explosion. The fight over resources has divided the society into two groups i.e. those who have all and are not willing to share it and the second group that is fighting for its mere survival. This fight between haves and have-nots has the inherent seeds of conflict in it, which if erupted could imperil the peace and order in the society. Overpopulation in cities has also contributed to toxic pollution. A greater number of vehicles on the roads mean the availability of large quantities of poisonous gas for people to inhale. Sewage problems and lack of clean drinking water can also be attributed to the population problem.

The world has touched seven billion mark in population . After years of industrialization and technological advances, the world still suffers in providing basic necessities to the masses. Apart from few exceptions in Europe having a negative birth rate, overpopulation is a common problem of many nations around the world. Many of the countries have tried hard and to some extent they have been successful. China, around three decades ago, was facing shortages in food but today it is the largest growing economy in the world. The "One Child Policy" has done wonders for this new economic power. China has also proved the fact that through proper planning a huge population could be transformed into an economic asset.

Now the question arises how we can tackle this problem. It is right time that we nip the evil in the bud with proper planning. Education is the key to success against the menace of overpopulation. It will not only generate awareness against the hazards of overpopulation among the masses but will also create a healthy environment for birth control methods to flourish. Poor literacy rate in Pakistan is certainly adding to the difficulties, already being faced by the health workers in their fight against the problem.

The role of media is also an important factor. With most of the population illiterate electronic media could prove to be a huge success in getting the message across. Print media too needs to emphasize the problems of overpopulation on a more regular basis. Availability of birth control methods in the remote areas of the country should be ensured. The role of lady health workers should be expanded and the good office of every union council should make their supervision compulsory. "Devolution Plan" was devised to make the participation of people at the grass roots level. Now it is time we solved the problem of overpopulation with a greater participation and supported of these local councils. But this task will be not as easy to accomplish, as it may appears to be.

According to a report by Population Action International Washington, a great reason for population increase in Pakistan is that the Government has made a very insignificant investment in social sector owing to religious problems and secondly women having no say and freedom . A conservative society like ours is certainly not ripe to carry out a war against overpopulation. Therefore, the role of religious leaders emerges as an important aspect if we are to succeed against this menace. Big landowners in rural areas too can influnce the masses. It is high time they joined in against the fight for a better future. Once these two classes are on the side of the government, there is no way that the government will not be able to solve the problem. Another factor that has for long proven to be a hurdle in solving population problem is the poor state of our womenfolk in the society. The rights of women must be restored and the discrimination against them must be stopped. In this context, Anti-Women Practices Bill was recenly passed on Nov 16, 2011. Many women in the country are aware of the problems generated by having large families but they have little say in deciding about the strength of the family. In a male-dominated society as ours women often fall victim to the blind wishes of their male partners. Women often die in labour and owing to the lack of gaps between the successive births. Their health also deteriorates to an alarming stage.

Following recommendations can be implemented in order to control the population:

- Family planning facilities be made a part of health facilities
- There should be a greater role for local and provincial governments
- Role of NGOs and doctors in disbursement of Aid received for family panning
- Males should be urged to cooperate more
- Status of women to be raised in society as done by present government by giving more seats in assemblies
- Better health and educational facilities for women
- Issue to be taken as a national crisis
- Role of media to be encouraged especially in rural areas
- Government programs should involve Ullemas and NGOs
- Greater participation of landlords

Problem of overpopulation is very serious because it leads to frustration, which means chaos. Chaos means anarchy and anarchy endangers the state.

Pakistan is today standing at the crossroads. It will either perish forever or will emerge as a stronger nation. What are needed is a vision and a sincere leadership that could transform dreams into reality. The problem of overpopulation has now started to haunt us and unless we tackle it pragmatically our dream of a bright and glorious future will just remain a pious wish. It needs a multi-pronged attack to deal with overpopulation. A strong Pakistan should be our first priority and if we have to make certain hard decisions for its accomplishment no one should hesitate to lead and pull the trigger. Indeed, Pakistan comes first even before our personal vested interests.

EXPECTED QUESTION:

- **What are the problems of Overpopulation in Pakistan?**
- **What are the causes, effects and suggestions of Overpopulation?**

GLOBAL WARMING/CLIMATE CHANGE

OUTLINE

- Introduction
  - Change in climate due to increasing of temperature
  - Industrial Revolution and the use of fossil fuels
  - Role of Intergovernmental Penal on Climate Change (IPCC)
- Causes
  - Industrial Revolution and setting up industries
  - Use of Green house gases
  - Deforestation
  - Release of chemicals and other gases
  - Plate tectonics
  - Depletion in Ozone layer
  - Solar energy
  - Volcanism
- Effects
  - Increasing global temperature
  - Thawing glaciers
  - Rising sea levels
  - Warmest years
  - Relentless hurricanes, typhoon, cyclone etc
  - Heat waves
  - Heavy rainfalls
  - Higher temperature and process of decomposition
  - Growing long season
  - Losing Earth Fertility
- Combating Global Warming
  - Controlling global temperature
  - Earth Summit 1992
  - Kyoto Protocol 1997
  - Bali Summit 2007
  - Copenhegen Summit 2009

- Durban Summit 2011
- Fifth IPCC 2014 Report
- Paris Summit 2015

- How is Pakistan affected by climate change?
  - Heavy rainfalls
  - Melting of glaciers and floods
  - Extreme weather in winter and summar
  - Rising of sea level of Indian Ocean
  - Loss of infrastructure, human loss, etc
  - Floods and impact on economy
  - Least contributor towards global warming but hard hit
- Suggestions
  - Reducin fossil fuels
  - Growing more forests
  - Using of alternative soures of energy
  - Introducing zero carbon technology
  - Green transportation
  - Geothermal energy
  - Solar energy
  - Latest Technology
- Conclusion

ESSAY

"We face a true planetary emergency. The climate crisis is not a political issue, it is a moral and spiritual challenge to all of humanity." **–Al Gore Nobel Peace Prize Winner 2007**

Global Warming is the expected slow, gradual warming of the lower layers of the Earth's lower atmosphere by slowly increasing concentrations of man-made greenhouse gases, primarily carbon dioxide, and to a lesser extent methane. These gases trap infrared radiation, which is the "heat radiation" that cools the Earth. The burning of fossil fuels, mainly petroleum and coal, produces carbon dioxide as one of the by-products. As of 2003, the concentration of carbon dioxide is over 50% higher than it was before the start of the industrial revolution in the late 1800's. This has become a major threat to all forms of life on earth and the situation is worsening each passing day.

In view of the devastating effects that global warming has started to have on life, the problem has become a global concern forcing attention from all concerned. To bring all this information together, the United Nations formed a group of scientists called the International Panel on Climate Change, or IPCC. The IPCC meets after some years to review the latest scientific findings and write a report summarizing all that is known about global warming. Here is ambiguity in the minds of the students about global warming and climate change. Global warming" as it is commonly used refers to the increase of the Earth's average surface temperature, due to a build-up of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere. "Climate change" is used in a broader context that refers to long-term changes in climate, including average temperature and precipitation.

Climate model projections summarized in the latest IPCC report indicate that the global surface temperature will probably rise a further 1.1 to 6.4 °C (2.0 to 11.5 °F) during the twenty-first century. The uncertainty in this estimate arises from the use of models with differing sensitivity to greenhouse gas concentrations and the use of differing estimates of future greenhouse gas emissions.

The devastation of Global Warming is far terrible than it is generally perceived to be. Al Gore, Nobel Peace Prize Winner 2007, underlined the possibility of the collapse of a major ice sheet in Greenland or in West Antarctica, either of which could raise global sea levels by approximately 20 feet (6 m), flooding coastal areas and producing 100 million refugees. Melting water from Greenland, because of its lower salinity, could then halt the currents that keep northern Europe warm and quickly trigger dramatic local cooling there. It also contains various short animated projections of what could happen to different animals more vulnerable to climate change.

Following are the causes of global warming.

More and more industries and factories are set up in this modern world to meet the needs of human beings. These big factories need large amount of fuels like coal, petroleum for power and electricity required by the machines to work. Burning of these fuels releases large amount of carbon dioxide which absorbs the harmful radiations from the sun making it warm, hence global warming. The smoke that is produced from these factories is mixed with the air, making it harmful for breathing.

One of the first things scientists learned is that there are several greenhouse gases responsible for warming, and man-made vehicles emit them in a variety of ways. Most come from the combustion of fossil fuels in cars, factories and electricity production. The gas responsible for the most warming is carbon dioxide, also called CO_2. Other contributors include methane released from landfills and agriculture (especially from the digestive systems of grazing animals), nitrous oxide from fertilizers,

gases used for refrigeration and industrial processes, and the loss of forests that would otherwise store CO_2. Naturally occurring greenhouse gases have a mean warming effect of about 33 °C (59 °F). The major greenhouse gases are water vapor, which causes about 36–70 percent of the greenhouse effect; carbon dioxide (CO_2), which causes 9–26 percent; methane (CH_4), which causes 4–9 percent, and ozone (O_3), which causes 3–7 percent.

Fossil fuels are burnt on a day-to-day basis and they contain high percentage of carbon, coal and petroleum and many other gases. So burning of these fuels releases large amount of extra carbon which has been entombed inside the Earth millions of years ago. The carbon that is emitted by burning these fuels is the extra carbon which is not a part of the cycle. So carbon dioxide being the greenhouse gas is provided in excess in the atmosphere which again leads to global warming.

The use of forests for fuel (both wood and for charcoal) is one cause of deforestation, but in the first world, our appetite for wood and paper products, our consumption of livestock grazed on former forest land, and the use of tropical forest lands for commodities like palm oil plantations contributes to the mass deforestation of our world. Forests remove and store carbon dioxide from the atmosphere, and this deforestation releases large amounts of carbon, as well as reducing the amount of carbon capture on the planet. Deforestation increases the severity of global warming as well. Carbon dioxide is released from the human conversion of forests and grasslands into farmland and cities. All living plants store carbon dioxcide. When those plants die and decay, carbon dioxide is released back into the atmosphere. As forests and grasslands are cleared for your use, enormous amounts of stored carbon enter the atmosphere.

In the last half of the 20th century, the use of chemical fertilizers (as opposed to the historical use of animal manure) has risen dramatically. The high rate of application of nitrogen-rich fertilizers has effects on the heat storage of cropland (nitrogen oxides have 300 times more heat-trapping capacity per unit of volume than carbon dioxide) and the run-off of excess fertilizers creates 'dead-zones' in our oceans. In addition to these effects, high nitrate levels in groundwater due to over-fertilization are cause for concern for human health.

Over the course of millions of years, the motion of tectonic plates reconfigures global land and ocean areas and generates topography. This can affect both global and local patterns of climate and atmosphere-ocean circulation. The topography can influence climate. The existence of mountains (as a product of plate tectonics through mountain-building) can cause orographic precipitation. Humidity generally decreases and diurnal temperature swings generally increase with increasing elevation. Mean temperature and the length of the growing season also decrease with increasing elevation.

The ozone layer is the layer outside atmosphere which protects the surface of the Earth from the harmful Ultra-violet and infrared radiations causing dangerous diseases like skin cancer. Ozone layer depletion is also one of the causes of global warming; entering of harmful gases which helps in heating up the Earth but other greenhouse gases like carbon dioxide, methane, that help in heating up and also tear up the ozone layer making an "Ozone Hole". Mostly the CFCs (chlorofluorocarbon) damages the ozone layer. So the ozone layer depletes due to these gases which allow the UV radiations to enter the Earth making the Earth more warm than normal and affects the temperature leading to global warming.

Over the following approximately 4 billion years, the energy output of the sun increased and atmospheric composition changed, with the oxygenation of the atmosphere being the most notable alteration. The luminosity of the sun will continue to increase as it follows the main sequence. These

changes in luminosity, and the sun's ultimate death as it becomes a red giant and then a white dwarf, will have large effects on climate, with the red giant phase possibly ending life on Earth.

Volcanism is a process of conveying material from the crust and mantle of the Earth to its surface. Volcanic eruptions, geysers, and hot springs, are examples of volcanic processes which release gases and particulates into the atmosphere. Eruptions large enough to affect climate occur on average several times per century, and cause cooling for a period of a few years. The eruption of Mount Pinatubo in 1991, the second largest terrestrial eruption of the 20th century affected the climate substantially.

Presently, the scientific consensus on climate change is that human activity is very likely the cause for the rapid increase in global average temperatures over the past several decades. Consequently, the debate has largely shifted onto ways to reduce further human impact and to find ways to adapt to change that has already occurred. Of most concern in these anthropogenic factors is the increase in CO_2 levels due to emissions from fossil fuel combustion, followed by aerosols (particulate matter in the atmosphere) and cement manufacture. Other factors, including land use, ozone depletion, animal agriculture and deforestation, are also of concern in the roles they play - both separately and in conjunction with other factors - in affecting climate.

Following are the effects.

- Global temperatures will increase between 2 and 11.5 degrees Fahrenheit (1.1 and 6.4 degrees Celsius) by the end of this century over pre-industrial levels.
- A best-guess temperature rise is between 3.2 and 7.1 degrees Fahrenheit (1.8 and 4 degrees Celsius), though the high end remains possible.
- Sea levels are projected to rise between 7 and 23 inches (18 and 59 centimeters) by the end of the century.
- If recent melting in Greenland and Antarctica continues, sea levels could rise an additional 4 to 8 inches (10 to 20 centimeters).
- Temperatures and sea levels will continue to rise for centuries even if greenhouse gas emissions are stabilized today.
- Eleven of the last 12 years rank among the 12 warmest years in the instrumental record, which stretches back to 1850.
- Observational evidence suggests an increase in hurricane strength in the North Atlantic since 1970 that correlates with an increase in sea surface temperatures.
- In some projections, Arctic sea ice will disappear in the late summer by the later part of this century.
- It is very likely that hot extremes, heat waves, and heavy rains will continue to become more frequent.
- The Gulf Stream, which brings warm waters to the North Atlantic, may slow.
- Higher air temperatures will also be felt in the soil, where warmer conditions are likely to speed the natural decomposition of organic matter and to increase the rates of other soil processes that affect fertility.
- Conditions are more favorable for the proliferation of insect pests in warmer climates. Longer growing seasons will enable insects such as grasshoppers to complete a greater number of reproductive cycles during the spring, summer, and autumn.

In recognition of the threats mentioned above, the global has finally started responding to the phenomenon of Global Warming and is slowly but surely taking necessary steps. In this regard, several international forums are of key importance. The United Nations Conference on Environment

and Development was held in 1992 known as Earth Summit 1992. 172 governments participated, with 108 sending their heads of state or government. The issues addressed included:

- Systematic scrutiny of patterns of production — particularly the production of toxic components, such as lead in gasoline, or poisonous waste including radioactive chemicals.
- Alternative sources of energy to replace the use of fossil fuels which are linked to global climate change.
- New reliance on public transportation systems in order to reduce vehicle emissions, congestion in cities and the health problems caused by polluted air and smog.
- The growing scarcity of water.

An important achievement was an agreement on the Climate Change Convention which in turn led to the Kyoto Protocol.

The Kyoto Protocol is a protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC or FCCC), aimed at fighting global warming. The UNFCCC is an international environmental treaty with the goal of achieving the "stabilization of greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system." The Protocol was initially adopted on 11 December 1997 in Kyoto, Japan and entered into force on 16 February 2005. As of July 2010, 191 states have signed and ratified the protocol. Under the Protocol, 37 countries commit themselves to a reduction of four greenhouse gases (GHG) (carbon dioxide, methane, nitrous oxide, sulphur hexafluoride) and two groups of gases (hydrofluorocarbons and perfluorocarbons) produced by them, and all member countries give general commitments. These countries agreed to reduce their collective greenhouse gas emissions by 5.2% from the 1990 level. Emission limits do not include emissions by international aviation and shipping, but are in addition to the industrial gases, chlorofluorocarbons, or CFCs, which are dealt with under the 1987 Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer.

The 2007 United Nations Climate Change Conference took place at the Bali International Conference Centre, Nusa Dua, in Bali, Indonesia, between December 3 and December 15, 2007. Representatives from over 180 countries attended, together with observers from intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations. The conference encompassed meetings of several bodies, including the 13th Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (COP 13), the 3rd Meeting of the Parties to the Kyoto Protocol (MOP 3 or CMP 3), together with other subsidiary bodies and a meeting of ministers. Negotiations on a successor to the Kyoto Protocol dominated the conference. A meeting of environment ministers and experts held in June called on the conference to agree on a road-map, timetable and 'concrete steps for the negotiations' with a view to reaching an agreement by 2009. It has been debated whether this global meeting on climate change has achieved anything significant at all. Initial EU proposals called for global emissions to peak in 10 to 15 years and decline "well below half" of the 2000 level by 2050 for developing countries and for developed countries to achieve emissions levels 20-40% below 1990 levels by 2020. The United States strongly opposed these numbers, at times backed by Japan, Canada, Australia and Russia. The resulting compromise mandates "deep cuts in global emissions" with references to the IPCC's Fourth Assessment Report.

The United Nations Climate Change Conference took place at the Bella Center in Copenhagen, Denmark, December 18, 2009 known as Copenhagen Summit 2009. According to the Bali Road Map, a framework for climate change mitigation beyond 2012 is to be agreed there.

The key points of the Copenhagen Accord are following:

A commitment "to reduce global emissions so as to hold the increase in global temperature below 2°C" and to achieve "the peaking of global and national emissions as soon as possible"

- Developed countries must make commitments to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, and developing countries must report their plans to curb greenhouse gas emissions to the UN by 31 January 2010
- New and additional resources "approaching $30bn" will be channelled to poorer nations over the period 2010-12, with an annual sum of $100bn envisaged by 2020
- A Copenhagen Green Climate Fund will be established under the UN convention on climate change, to direct some of this money to climate-related projects in developing countries
- Projects to reduce greenhouse gas emissions in developing countries will be subject to international monitoring if they are internationally funded
- Implementation of the accord will be reviewed in 2015 and an assessment will be made of whether the goal of keeping global temperature rise within 2°C needs to be strengthened to 1.5°C

The essential points of the deal were brokered by US President Barack Obama with representatives of China, India, Brazil and South Africa. Mr. Obama also consulted with the leaders of France, Germany and the UK. Most countries at the conference gave it their support, but some countries were resolutely opposed, including Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador and Cuba.

A primary focus of the Durban Conference (2011) was to secure a global climate agreement as the Kyoto Protocol's first commitment period (2008–2012) was about to end. It was also expected to focus on "finalising at least some of the Cancun Agreements", reached at the 2010 Conference, such as co-operation on clean technology, as well as forest protection, adaptation to climate impacts, and finance – the promised transfer of funds from rich countries to poor in order to help them protect forests, adapt to climate impacts, and green their economies.

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change published its Fifth Assessment in 2014, summarising the work of thousands of scientists across the world. The message was, in the panel's own words, "unequivocal". Concentrations of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases are now higher than they have been for nearly a million years, long before human society began. The burning of fossil fuels is the main reason behind this increase. Without strong action, temperatures are very likely to exceed the 2o C target that governments have committed to. This will result in serious consequences including sea level rises, heatwaves, loss of snow and ice cover, disruptions to agriculture and food production, and greater extremes of drought and rainfall.

In its 2013 report, for the first time the IPCC put a number on the total amount of carbon that can be emitted, while keeping within the 2o C target. Keeping within this limit would require the emission of no more than 880 gigatonnes of carbon. This is, in effect, a global carbon budget. Yet, by 2011, 530 gigatonnes, or nearly two thirds of the total budget, had already been spent. Emissions must peak soon, and then decline steeply, to stay within the 2o C limit.

At the Paris summit in December 2015, 196 countries met to sign a new climate change agreement. But how likely is it that it will be meaningful and make a difference to climate action on the ground? Not only is a deal possible but, with the right political leadership, it can lead to ambitious outcomes that will have a real impact on tackling climate change. Parties to the U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) reached a landmark agreement on December 12 in Paris, charting a fundamentally new course in the two-decade-old global climate effort.

Culminating a four-year negotiating round, the new treaty ended the strict differentiation between developed and developing countries that characterized earlier efforts, replacing it with a common framework that commits all countries to put forward their best efforts and to strengthen them

in the years ahead. This includes, for the first time, requirements that all parties report regularly on their emissions and implementation efforts, and undergo international review.

The agreement and a companion decision by parties were the key outcomes of the conference, known as the 21st session of the UNFCCC Conference of the Parties, or COP 21. Together, the Paris Agreement and the accompanying COP decision:

- Reaffirm the goal of limiting global temperature increase well below 2 degrees Celsius, while urging efforts to limit the increase to 1.5 degrees;
- Establish binding commitments by all parties to make "nationally determined contributions" (NDCs), and to pursue domestic measures aimed at achieving them;
- Commit all countries to report regularly on their emissions and "progress made in implementing and achieving" their NDCs, and to undergo international review;
- Commit all countries to submit new NDCs every five years, with the clear expectation that they will "represent a progression" beyond previous ones;
- Reaffirm the binding obligations of developed countries under the UNFCCC to support the efforts of developing countries, while for the first time encouraging voluntary contributions by developing countries too;
- Extend the current goal of mobilizing $100 billion a year in support by 2020 through 2025, with a new, higher goal to be set for the period after 2025;
- Extend a mechanism to address "loss and damage" resulting from climate change, which explicitly will not "involve or provide a basis for any liability or compensation;"
- Require parties engaging in international emissions trading to avoid "double counting;" and
- Call for a new mechanism, similar to the Clean Development Mechanism under the Kyoto Protocol, enabling emission reductions in one country to be counted toward another country's NDC.

The strong momentum toward an agreement that built over the preceding months was dramatically underscored on the opening day of the summit by the presence of 150 presidents and prime ministers, the largest ever single-day gathering of heads of state. Impetus came also from a vast array of "non-state actors," including governors, mayors and CEOs, and the launch in Paris of major initiatives like the Breakthrough Energy Coalition announced by Bill Gates and other billionaires.

Negotiations on many issues were hard-fought and, in typical COP fashion, progress through most of the conference was painstakingly slow. But thanks to deft diplomacy by the French presidency, the summit was remarkably free of the kind of procedural showdowns that have marred previous COPs. And though the conference ran 24 hours past the official deadline, as the final deal was gaveled through, one party after another declared that history had been made.

As French President Francois Hollande summed it up: "In Paris, there have been many revolutions over the centuries. Today it is the most beautiful and the most peaceful revolution that has just been accomplished – a revolution for climate change."

Key steps remain. Many operational details of the new framework were left to be decided by future COPs. And the agreement will take effect only once enough countries have formally ratified it.

The Paris Agreement marked the latest step in the evolution of the UN climate change regime, which originated in 1992 with the adoption of the Framework Convention. The UNFCCC established

a long-term objective, general principles, common and differentiated commitments, and a basic governance structure, including an annual COP.

In the years since, the regime has evolved in different directions. The 1997 Kyoto Protocol took a more "top-down" but highly differentiated approach, establishing negotiated, binding emissions targets for developed countries, and no new commitments for developing countries. Because the United States did not join, and some countries that did set no targets beyond 2012, the protocol now covers less than 15 percent of global emissions.

With the 2009 Copenhagen Accord and 2010 Cancún Agreements, parties established a parallel "bottom-up" framework, with countries undertaking national pledges for 2020 that represent political rather than legal commitments. This approach attracted much wider participation, including, for the first time, specific mitigation pledges by developing countries. However, countries' pledges fell far short of the reductions needed to meet the goal set in Copenhagen and Cancún of keeping average warming below 2 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels.

The negotiations toward a Paris agreement were launched with the Durban Platform for Enhanced Action adopted at COP 17 in 2011. The Durban Platform called for "a protocol, another legal instrument or an agreed outcome with legal force under the Convention applicable to all Parties," to apply from 2020, but provided no further substantive guidance.

COP 19 in Warsaw called on parties to submit "intended nationally determined contributions" (INDCs) well before the Paris conference, signaling an important bottom-up feature of the emerging agreement. Heading into Paris, more than 180 countries producing more than 90 percent of global emissions had submitted INDCs, a much broader response than many had anticipated.

Countries like the US and China are working to ensure an outcome is likely in 2015; and the years since the 2009 Copenhagen negotiations have seen some significant breakthroughs. The 2009 negotiations were fraught and chaotic, with a last minute agreement emerging after frantic scenes on the conference floor. Yet international negotiations remain vital for countries to build on national approaches, providing reassurance that they are not acting alone, and making it easier for nations to work together towards a low carbon future. This is why the 2015 Paris summit is important. To ensure meaningful action on climate change, the deal must contain the following elements: • ambitious action,before and after 2020 a strong legal framework and clear rules • a central role for equity • a long term approach public finance for adaptation and the low carbon transition • a framework for action on deforestation.

Vitally, a strong climate deal will help to meet international development aims, which are at increasing risk from rising global temperatures. Eliminating poverty, improving health and building security are all outcomes linked to tackling climate change. And it will also bring huge benefits to the natural environment by helping to avoid biodiversity loss and the degradation of ecosystems upon which we all depend.

Following are the suggestions to tackle global warming.

Dramatically reducing our use of fossil fuels—especially carbon-intensive coal—is essential to tackle climate change. There are many ways to begin this process. Key action steps include: not building any new coal-burning power plants, initiating a phased shutdown of coal plants starting with the oldest and dirtiest, and capturing and storing carbon emissions from power plants. While it may sound like science fiction, the technology exists to store carbon emissions underground. The technology has not been deployed on a large scale or proven to be safe and permanent, but it has been demonstrated in other contexts such as oil and natural gas recovery. Demonstration projects to test the viability and costs of this technology for power plant emissions are worth pursuing.

Taken together, tropical deforestation and emissions from agriculture represent nearly 30 percent of the world's heat-trapping emissions. We can fight global warming by reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation and by making our food production practices more sustainable.

Using alternative sources of energy is more efficient and meets the problem of global warming. Energy producing from solar, wind, tidal, biomass are more clean and renewable. They are least effects if we produce electricity from alternative sources of energy. Multiple studies have shown that renewable energy has the technical potential to meet the vast majority of our energy needs. Renewable technologies can be deployed quickly, are increasingly cost-effective, and create jobs while reducing pollution.

Because nuclear power results in few global warming emissions, an increased share of nuclear power in the energy mix could help reduce global warming—but nuclear technology poses serious threats to our security and, as the accident at the Fukushima Diaichi plant in Japan illustrates to our health and the environment as well. The question remains: can the safety, proliferation, waste disposal, and cost barriers of nuclear power be overcome?

Research into and development of the next generation of low-carbon technologies will be critical to deep mid-century reductions in global emissions. Current research on battery technology, new materials for solar cells, harnessing energy from novel sources like bacteria and algae, and other innovative areas could provide important breakthroughs.

The countries of the world—from the most to the least developed—vary dramatically in their contributions to the problem of climate change and in their responsibilities and capacities to confront it. A successful global compact on climate change must include financial assistance from richer countries to poorer countries to help make the transition to low-carbon development pathways and to help adapt to the impacts of climate change.

The energy used to power, heat, and cool our homes, businesses, and industries is the single largest contributor to global warming. Energy efficiency technologies allow us to use less energy to get the same—or higher—level of production, service, and comfort. This approach has vast potential to save both energy and money, and can be deployed quickly.

The transportation sector's emissions have increased at a faster rate than any other energy-using sector over the past decade. A variety of solutions are at hand, including improving efficiency (miles per gallon) in all modes of transport, switching to low-carbon fuels, and reducing vehicle miles traveled through smart growth and more efficient mass transportation systems.

Geothermal energy has been used for thousands of years in some countries for cooking and heating. It is simply power derived from the Earth's internal heat. This thermal energy is contained in the rock and fluids beneath Earth's crust. It can be found from shallow ground to several miles below the surface, and even farther down to the extremely hot molten rock called magma. These underground reservoirs of steam and hot water can be tapped to generate electricity or to heat and cool buildings directly.

EXPECTED QUESTION:

- **Global Warming, Fact or Fiction?**
- **Causes of Global Warming?**
- **Future of Global Warming?**
- **Global Warming and its Effects on Pakistan?**

PRIVATIZING HIGHER EDUCATION-GENERATING KNOWLEDGE OR MAKING MORE MONEY FOR THE OPULENT

(CSS-2014)

OUTLINE

- ❑ Global perspective
  - Growth of national income
  - Scientific research
  - Knowledge, a capital
  - Importance of higher institutes
- ❑ Why higher education in Pakistan
  - Educational and national development
  - Stability factor in different fields
  - Education, emerging force
- ❑ Higher Education
  - Enhance knowledge and intellectual capacity
  - Role of HEC and its results
- ❑ Funding of HEC
- ❑ Quality of education and research due to privitisation
- ❑ Quality Enhancement Cells and Accreditation Councils in private institutes
- ❑ Faculty development programmes in private institutes
- ❑ Foreign scholarships
- ❑ How to improve quality
  - Role of VCs
  - Role of research
  - Improve quality of teaching
  - W4 category
  - Plagiarism policy

ESSAY

For any nation, global competitiveness and economic success now depend on the existence of capacities to create, develop, consume and disseminate knowledge. Universities need to strengthen and consolidate their potential in areas such as teaching, research, scholarship and innovation, to ensure that they deliver graduates equipped to tap global knowledge resources and apply what they have learned in support of local and regional development. Developing an institutional strategy that captures past experiences, analyzes existing ways of working and charts a course for the future is by no means a simple exercise.

Besides, education contributes to the growth of national income and individual earnings. While land was the main source of wealth and income in agricultural societies, capital and machinery became important in industrial societies. In today's information societies, knowledge drives economic growth and development. Higher education is the main source of that knowledge – its production, dissemination and its absorption by any society. Economic growth currently depends on the capacity to produce knowledge- based goods. However, the future of knowledge economies depends more on their capacity to produce knowledge through research. Hence, knowledge economies place greater value and accord higher priority to the production and distribution of knowledge. Higher education institutions are a major source for providing the human capital required for knowledge.

Over the centuries, universities were expected to do scientific research including the transfer of knowledge and education of inheritors of the knowledge and played an important role in the description and widening of everything that forms the widely understood national culture or regional identity. Universities have added on a 3rd task during the 2nd half of the 20th century which is to connect and interact with the outside world aside from performing their 2 traditional tasks.

The importance of knowledge is continuously growing and becoming the primary asset that can be utilized by a specific company or nation. Knowledge has become much more important than investment capital, natural resources or technology as companies are metamorphosing from production companies into knowledge creating companies. Society is dependent on 4 primary factors namely knowledge creation, knowledge transfer, propagation & utilization of new services and industrial process and HEIs are the very core and play a fundamental role in theare as of scientific research and its utilization, education and local & regional development. Higher Education is perceived to be a key player in the knowledge economy and thus we need to look into the structural changes of HEIs particularly in their purpose and mission.

Higher education is more susceptible to the impositions of the market and the state. HEIs are losing their capacity to promote the common good or even to pursue knowledge and truth in an autonomous way. Rhoads argues that neo-liberalism fueled its unwavering belief in market values and the unyielding logic of corporate profit making, has little patience with non-commodity knowledge or with the more lofty ideals that have defined higher education as a public service. Universities are becoming embedded in the logic of academic capitalism, a logic that requires an appropriate policy and cultural climate, specific regulations, and a variety of administrative arrangements and academic regimes.

The second vision uses the human capital theory as a basis when proponents argued that intellectual infrastructure, professional training, and the scientific technical capability provided by the university are prerequisites for economic development, particularly in emerging knowledge based

societies. The university hence becomes a tool for economic growth which calls for the increase in enrollment, closer links with industries, vocational programs, entrepreneurialism, and the development of incubators in high tech areas.

The third vision, the "University as a Means of Social Transformation", argues that universities have an obligation to contribute to collective projects towards social and environmental justice and ultimately alter existing social, economic and political relationships. It proposes a reduction in the gulf between mental and manual work, an integration of theoretical and practical knowledge and making students subjects of their learning process to become active, critical, and creative citizens and to nurture a comprehensive understanding of the relations between productive forces and the social, political, and cultural spheres.

The fourth vision labeled as "Service University" conceives the university as an enterprise, academics as entrepreneurs, and knowledge as a commodity and bears similarities to the concept of the entrepreneurial university. The entrepreneurial university is part and parcel of a phenomenon that they identified as academic capitalism, which refers to institutional and professional market efforts to secure external monies. The concept of a service or entrepreneurial university is equivalent to that of the commercial university.

Talented managers provide innovative leadership; engineers and scientists are scientific innovators and develop new products; and teaching professionals prepare the young for future development. Those with advanced degrees contribute to higher labour-force productivity, production and national income because research and development (R&D) activities in industry, as well as in universities, are undertaken largely by those with a university education.

Recent evidence from many countries points to high social rates of return from R&D by universities. Greater social cohesion and strengthened foundations for democracy that promote property rights and help enforce law and order - necessary conditions to create incentives for innovation - are added social benefits of higher education. Development economists agree that an atmosphere that promotes innovation is necessary for sustained economic development. Indeed, the children of educated parents grow up with a greater awareness of the value of investment in education.

Lastly, expanding university education leads to lower per student costs as the fixed set-up costs involved in establishing infrastructure are divided over a larger body of students, in turn raising the social rates of return on investment in a university degree.

The developing countries are no longer content to be a source of cheap labour. Instead, they are rapidly becoming the driving force of innovation and creativity. They are redesigning entire products and business processes to reduce costs. IBM today employs more people in the developing world than in the developed one. The number of US companies listed on Fortune 500 in 2009 fell to its lowest level ever, while more Chinese, South Koreans and Indian firms appeared on the list than ever before. (The Economist, April 15.)

If Pakistan wishes to become an emerging power, it needs to enhance its knowledge and intellectual capital drastically. It is well known that countries with sound technological base make rapid strides in development. There is a direct correlation between the knowledge capital and economic development.

Pakistan has one of the lowest tertiary enrolment densities in the world and therefore also the lowest GDP per capita. If we wish to follow in the footsteps of the emerging powers, we need to focus on increasing our knowledge power. We need to quadruple our knowledge density before we can even

reach the levels of the per capita GDP of our fellow Muslim countries Malaysia and Turkey, let alone the emerging giants.

The Higher Education Commission (HEC) has brought about a revolutionary change in Pakistan since its formation in 2002. It has increased the number of universities from 98 to 132, and tripled university enrolment. As a result, universities are providing knowledge capital to every developing sector in Pakistan. While only 3,000 PhD degrees were awarded till 2002, over 3,280 have been awarded in the last eight years alone. The number of scholars on HEC scholarships currently pursuing PhD degrees overseas is over 2,800, while another 3,800 are pursuing it locally. With only 3,500 (20 per cent) of university faculties having PhD degrees, the numbers will triple over the next five years. Simultaneously, the number of research publications has increased from 815 in 2002 to over 4,000 in 2009 and is still growing exponentially each year with the number of returning PhD scholars. Pakistan will thus be on its way to becoming a knowledge power if this pace of growth and development is continued over the next 10 years.

Every dollar invested in higher education brings an exponential return of over 800 per cent to the national exchequer. That is why countries like South Korea have invested heavily in higher education over the last few decades. Korea's higher education accessibility, which was only five per cent in 1960 (the same as in Pakistan today), steadily increased to nine per cent in 1970, 16 per cent in 1980, 38 per cent in 1990, and 68 per cent in 2000, and is currently 80 per cent. South Korea's exports have steadily climbed from $32 million in 1960, $660 million in 1970, $17 billion in 1980, $63 billion in 1990, $150 billion in 2000, to over 364 billion now.

Today Pakistan is facing a mounting challenge from neighbouring India. India has embarked on a revolutionary plan to boost its higher education sector to international standards. It is already spending 1.03 per cent of its GDP on higher education, compared to only 0.28 per cent for Pakistan.

The government needs to make a solid financial and political commitment to support higher education and increase its funding by at least 30-35 per cent every year over the next ten years. Otherwise, Pakistan will only slide back to join sub-Saharan African states, instead of moving forward and becoming an Asian tiger.

There has been a considerable growth in the number of universities in the country since the formation of the Higher Education Commission (HEC) six years ago. However, as a result of this growth the quality of education and research taking place in these institutions has been compromised. Under the Education Policy 2009, the growth will continue hence posing a big challenge to the HEC as to how to maintain growth as well as sustain, in fact, improve the quality of education at the same time.

A number of measures have already been taken in this regard. Quality Enhancement Cells have been established in 45 universities to-date, which are being expanded to all public and private universities, and quarterly progress reports are being mandated to be submitted to the HEC. We are also moving towards establishing independent Accreditation Councils and an independent Quality Assurance Board to ensure that the quality of our curriculum and instructions is as per international standards.

Faculty development programmes will continue as the mainstay of the HEC, which includes foreign and local PhD scholarship programmes. A minimum criterion has been established for awarding PhD degrees, which includes the GRE test, publication, plagiarism test, review of thesis by two foreign experts, and an open defence of dissertation. The Commission has decided that PhD degrees not meeting the HEC criteria would not be recognised by the HEC, and all the vice-chancellors have been informed accordingly. The goal is to gradually increase the number of quality

PhD faculty. In-house faculty training and development programmes are being improved to prepare the faculty not only in teaching methodologies and communication skills but also in subject areas. Foreign faculty hiring programme is currently under assessment to improvise it further. Incentives through tenure track positions, equipment, research and travel grants, post-doc fellowships and tax-incentives are offered to retain good faculty and hopefully reverse the brain drain.

Need-based scholarships for students are being increased through USAID, JICA and other donor agencies, and scholarships have already been doubled for students from FATA and Balochistan

To ensure quality research, the HEC will continue to focus on infrastructure developments including laboratory equipment, library and internet access, such as through the National Digital Library, PERN broadband network and video-conferencing facilities. Over 1500 events have already taken place through video-conferencing. The HEC has adopted a 'zero tolerance' policy on plagiarism in research in which all cases reported to HEC are investigated in the light of plagiarism policy.

Better governance at the universities is being ensured through appointment of VCs through search committees. A minimum criterion for appointment has been developed which has been put into practice for new appointments in federal universities, and the Governors/Provincial Chancellors are being requested to apply it to provincial universities as well. The VCs have been asked in the annual VCs conference to ensure proper financial, administrative and external audits every year. They have been asked to hold regular meetings of all mandated bodies, including syndicate and senates as per their charters. Leadership training programmes for VCs have already been initiated, and the National Academy for Higher Education is being revamped to prepare the next generation of university leaders.

Two new aspects have been emphasised in the rules of business: universities building communities and fund raising. The HEC expects the universities to have a sense of ownership, to contribute to the local community, and be a regional hub for community services. Career placement office, alumni office and fund-raising/development offices are being developed at the universities under a USAID programme currently in place for 11 universities, which will be expanded to other universities once the pilot offices are established within the next three months.

Small business innovative research support through a request for proposal based process, and venture capital funding, will be made available to support spin-off industries originating from university research. Incubators, technology, business and agricultural parks, and entrepreneurship centers, to be established in large innovative-oriented universities, will bring research and innovation to the marketplace so that more jobs are created, benefiting the economy. Relevant career-oriented curricula, and workshops and training sessions on newer applied technologies will be offered at the rural-based two year community colleges, which are to be established with major universities as a pilot project. The technology parks and community colleges will focus on the regional clusters of industries and economies.

The HEC will focus on relevance and quality in teaching and research. It will ensure only quality graduates and researches are produced at our universities. It is a challenging task which can be accomplished if the universities own it too.

The modern university, with its mix of teaching, innovation and research, is different from the universities of yesteryears, which only served as teaching grounds. By introducing innovation, creativity and interdisciplinary research as a vital component of teaching, and with knowledge exchange programmes, the university contributes more directly to the economy and society than many other institutions.

The higher education sector worldwide is faced with multiple challenges in view of these changing dynamics. However, the HEC has kept abreast of these global developments and has taken numerous measures in recent years to improve the quality and relevancy of education and research at the universities. Quality Enhancement Cells (QECs) have been established in 85 universities in the last three years. Institutional Performance Evaluations (IPEs) using six international standards are being conducted for the first ten universities. By next year these will be extended to ten standards and for all universities. The IPEs and the QECs are self-evaluation processes to determine quality and ensure good governance is maintained at institutions.

The rating criteria for private universities have been enhanced from this year, and now W4 will be considered the highest rating instead of W, which had a lower standard. Simultaneously, the criterion to establish new universities in the private sector is being rationalised to enable more universities to be established without compromise on quality. Thirteen Accreditation Councils (nine autonomous, four through the HEC) are now functional which are working with the universities to improve the quality of curriculum and research. Associate-degree programmes have been introduced for the first time at two-year colleges, and the HEC is working with the provincial governments to improve quality at degree colleges as well. Research at universities has significantly increased to over 5,000 international journal papers, with Pakistan's world share increasing by over three times. As a result, two Pakistan's universities are now among the top 300 technology universities of the world, where none existed a few years ago. The university ranking exercise is presently been conducted nationally to rank all universities to determine their teaching and research standards, and categorised as general, engineering and technology, health, agriculture, business, and arts and humanities.

Faculty development programmes are continuing as the mainstay of the HEC, which includes foreign and local PhD scholarship programmes, as well as split PhD and post-doctoral fellowships. Currently only 25 percent (5,000) of the faculty has PhD degrees, and our target is to increase it to 50 percent in the next 10 years. One thousand and seven hundred HEC scholars have completed their PhDs from local and foreign universities and joined various organisations, and another 7,500 scholars are coming up. Starting January 2014, all appointments to the position of lecturer will require a MS/MPhil degree. From January 2016, all assistant professors and above will require a PhD degree. Knowledge transfer through teaching, research and community service, and not just experience, will be mandatory for promotion.

The HEC is following a zero-tolerance plagiarism policy in research. All faculties advising PhD students are being asked to be registered with the HEC and they will have to fulfil a minimum criterion to continue advising students. All universities have also been asked to upload the names of their full-time PhD faculty, including their CVs, on their website. A minimum of three full-time relevant PhDs are required in a department to offer the PhD programme.

A minimum criterion has been established for PhD degrees, which includes the NTS subject test, publication requirement in an approved journal, plagiarism test, review of thesis by two foreign experts and an open defence of dissertations. PhD degrees not meeting HEC criteria will not be recognised.

Better selection of vice chancellors is being ensured by their appointment through search committees. New challenges for vice chancellors include leadership skills, academic leadership, financial management, strategic planning, fundraising, and building communities, economies and leadership. A two-day leadership workshop was held along these lines for all newly appointed vice chancellors for the first time at the HEC this year to prepare the next generation of university leaders. They have also been asked to hold regular meetings of all mandated bodies, including syndicate and senates, and annual convocations every year as per their charter.

The HEC expects the universities to have a sense of ownership, to contribute to the local community, and be a regional hub for community services. Career placement offices, alumni offices and fund-raising/development offices have been developed at a number of universities, which are being extended to all.

Research is being given a new dimension. There is need to conduct meaningful and relevant research, one that can contribute to creating jobs and building economies. A spirit of entrepreneurship is being inculcated. The first ten Offices of Research, Innovation and Commercialisation (ORICs) have been established at leading research universities in order to bridge the gap between universities and the industry. They will be expanded to 30 ORICs in the next couple of years. Incubators and technology parks are the next phase of development for which international partnerships for capacity-building are being sought. The technology parks will focus on regional clusters of industries and economies. In other words, the universities will focus on the creation of a knowledge economy, rather than just producing graduates.

The HEC will ensure only quality graduates and research is produced at our universities to develop the next generation of leaders. It is a challenging task which can be accomplished with political support and if the universities own it too.

EDUCATION

OUTLINE

- Introduction
- View of Quaid-e-Azam
- Aims and objectives of education
- Problems
  - Lack of education budget
  - Different syllabi
  - Different medium of instruction
  - Feudalism
  - Outdated syllabus
  - Lack of teacher training
  - Outdated teaching methodology
  - Lack of quality education
  - Failed eduation policy
  - Corruption
  - Flawed eduction system
  - Other social problems
- Solution
  - Increase education budget up to 4 % of GDP
  - Uniformity of Educational Systems
  - Updated and research based curriculum
  - Abolish feudalism, a rootcause of all social problems in Pakistan
  - Teachers' appointment on merit basis
  - Teachers' training
  - Effective educational policies
  - Promoting research culture
  - Free education
  - Reforming examination system
- HEC
  - Formation
  - Purposes
  - Recommendations
  - Conclusion

ESSAY

Quaid-e-Azam said:

"You know that the importance of education and the right type of education cannot be over emphasized. Under foreign rule for over a century sufficient attention has not been paid to the education of our people. There is immediate and urgent need for giving scientific and technical education to our people in order to develop science, commence, and trade and particularly well planned industries. We should not forget that we have to compete with the world, which is moving very fast in this direction."

(Pakistan Educational Conference, 1947)

Education plays the role of leadership in the society. The functions of the educational institutions are to develop the people physically, mentally, psychologically, socially, and spiritually. It improves and promotes the economic, social, political and cultural life of the nation. Until now the role of secondary and college education in Pakistan has been simply preparation for tertiary education, which in the minds of most people means strictly a university education. All over the world universities are guiding and co-operating with the industrial and agricultural development organizations and they are developing their economics rapidly and meaningfully. There is a close link between education and development. In Pakistan, after more than six decades, the developmental indicators are not showing positive results. The participation rate at higher education is low comparatively to other countries of the region. There are problems of quality of staff, students, library and laboratory. Relevance with society needs, research facilities, financial crisis, arts students more than science students, weaknesses of examination, ineffective governance and academic results are not at par with international standards.

Since independence, attempts have been made to relate the education system to the needs and inspirations of the country. Various commissions and committees were established from time to time during the educational history of Pakistan by various regimes. It is however our sad to observe that in spite of all efforts and important given to education sector, standards of education have gone down. It is a matter of serious concern to find that educational degree awarded in Pakistan have lost their past prestige and recognition. However aims and objectives of education are formulated by various national educational policies as:

- To reestablish the existing education system with a view to provide social, political and spiritual need of society.
- To preserve the ideology of Pakistan within the Islamic ethos ensured in the 1973 constitution
- To promote unity and patriotism and the desire for the welfare state
- To preserve and promote cultural and ethical norms and religious toleration
- To provide equal educational opportunities to all citizens of Pakistan
- To create responsible members of society and global citizens
- To develop democratic and moral values

- To review confidence in public education systems by raising the quality of education in government institutions
- To improve services of education governance and management
- To improve the quality of education particularly relevant to the need of the economy
- To eradicate illiteracy within the shortest possible time through different illiteracy programs
- To enable the individuals to earn their livelihood through skills which further contribute to the national economy
- To encourage planning have been undertaken by the government but without taking the ground realities into account and without participation of the community and proper implementation of these policies. Research in higher education institutions that will contribute to economic growth of the country.
- To organize a national process for education development that will reduce disparities across the country.

Today Pakistan is facing a number of problems i.e. poverty, insecurity, terrorism, sectarianism and many more and base provided to all these problems by lack of awareness, tolerance and illiteracy, developed by ineffective educational system. The vital role and significance of education system is largely neglected in Pakistan. There are also some other factors responsible for instability in Pakistan but education is the crucial one. Education system of Pakistan is facing some serious problems. Though, 67 years have been past and 23 policies and actions planned have been introduced yet the education sector is waiting for solution of its problem i.e. multiple system of education, lacking of adequate funds, inadequate physical and other facilities, poor examination system, dropouts, low enrollment rate, inconsistency in education policies, aimless education, no free and compulsory education, political interference, corruption, , outdated curricula, poor management and supervision, lack of research, secularization of education and deficiency of professional teachers. In order to address these problems, there is a dire need for the formulation of rational policies and plans as well as adequate system for their implementation.

The word education is derived from the Latin word "educare" which literally means "to bring out". Thus education in a way can mean the bringing out and the development of all the inherent potentialities of an individual. Education is the constructive factor for any society. It opens new horizon for the people to perceive things in different dimension. We need education because without it we cannot be a united and strong nation. We cannot properly understand our national aims and the way of achieving them if most of our people remain uneducated. If most of our people get education they can understand the value of unity and discipline in life. They can cooperate with one another in different fields of life. They can understand and work for their own high aims and those of their nation or country. They can understand and obey the law of land and become good citizens. Education can enable our people to make proper industrial, agricultural, and technical progress. Educated people prove to be more efficient and beneficial for the society.

Today our education system does not offer the environment and opportunity of one and equal system of education. We have a very divisive education system which has created a huge gap among the nation and penetrated deeply into our culture. Thus different tiers have been created in our system over a period of 67 years to facilitate the hold of the elite over the governing of our nation. There are

many systems working in the country, resulting in social division and conflict. Today our multiple tier education system can be highlighted in the following categories:

The share of public education expenditure in national budgets increased in many regional countries but it has declined in Pakistan. According to the International Crisis Group, Pakistan is one of only 12 countries in the world that spends less than 2 percent of its GDP on education. According to Economic Survey of Pakistan (2015-16), Pakistan spends around 2 % of its GDP on education sector. Less than fifty percent of the funds allocated for development expenditure of the Ministry of Education at the federal level are actually utilized. A major reason for this underutilization of funds is their complex financial allocation and release system. The province lack the finical resources to achieve the goal of universally primary education.

A lot of political interference is noted in the appointments transfer and violation of merit. Most of the time, educators seats are predecided leaving job seekers panic. MPAs and MNAs quotas have badly affected the recruitment system of education. Pakistan has not been able to develop basic administration and infrastructure for an effective planning. Planning is based too much on the idea of political official and little gross root enrollment.

Cambridge Education system (foreign education system) is exclusively for the children of very rich so that they can after graduation go overseas for higher education on the foreign exchange provided to them by Pakistan Sate Bank. So the students from the elite class follow the "O" and "A" levels curriculum instead of Pakistan's domestic, the poor quality curriculum. They have little or no awareness of their religion and culture.

Pakistan Secondary Education System is provided by private and government schools, one for the middle class and other for the poor. The one for the middle class has medium instruction in English and the other one in Urdu. The children from these institutions, if they happen to have good grades and the parental financial capital go to the colleges of their preference and the rest either become clerk/ cashiers/ sales person in a shop/worker in the factory/ any other work which comes in their way.

Maderessah Education System is supposed to provide religious education; however, poverty is another factor that restricts the parents to send their children to public or private school so that they prefer to send their children to madressah where education is free. Religious madrassas churn out yet another class that is usually unaware of the world outside their own.

Education develops the roots of any nation. Any nation prepares their generation according to their ideological, cultural, social and religious norms through education but the education system of Pakistan is entirely aimless. It would probably be more correct to say that its sole aim is to produce manpower for running the administration which inherited by Pakistan from colonial system. Our education system is producing goods for no means and use. Socially culturally and politically unrest is caused by improper education of our new generation, who can play a role of weapon for the developing of country. Our education system did not preserve our social cultural and religious norms in 21st century where western countries have made huge advancement towards science and technology we are still lagging behind in them in respective field. Our system is not imparting knowledge. Development of thinking, reasoning and talent creation is missing.

Over the years since independence public have seen various political parties in action, various reforms about education, various declarations on paper but nothing has been fulfilled in prosperous

way. The main reason of the failure of our educational system is grooming of less technical faculty. Our methods have been stereotyped and new techniques of teaching and materials to make lessons more interesting to the students have not been adopted. Most of our teachers joined teaching just as a job to earn their livelihood.

Cramming is part and parcel of our academic calendar, students are asked to spoon feed the technical terms instead of perceiving their fundamental concept, emphasize is given on amount then on logic. Over these years education department have hardly spend any funds on advance coaching of their faculty staff which still stuck in the old age teaching techniques and are unaware of modern methods of teaching and convincing students thorough sheer knowledge. Students are not able to lose library and other modern educational facilities nor are they able to get helped from their teachers.

Rote learning is common practice both because of the educational tradition and because of lack of teaching material. Teachers relay mainly on lecture method. One of the chronic problem of our education system is the shortage of teachers due to which merit criteria is ignored though the number of teachers has been gradually increasing but it does not match favorably with the number of students and there is a gap between the students and teachers ratio.

Pakistan emphasize is given on quantity not on quality which will make things more worse for our future generation. The curriculum of our education system is not based on its objectives to create the power of reasoning in a child. It has no direct connection with the practical life which the students will have to face, when he becomes a mature person of the society. Our curriculum is not updated to compete with the rest of the world in modern education. Our national survival both in term of economy and defense potentials depends entirely on the kind of education we provide to our children. The basic problem is that our curriculum is not promoting the interest of the student towards practical work and scientific knowledge.

A number of educational policies were introduced from time to time by various regimes in the history of Pakistan for reforms but due lack of implementation and inconsistency, it showed no result. Major policies decisions are made under threats from strongest pressure group or by the political leaders for their own political slogan rather than in keeping with the overall needs of the country. Little are no research is done on the implication of these policies and there long term costs. Similarly, there is hardly any harmonization between the federal and provincial governments which leads to poor policy implementation. There are also complaints that the government's consultation with the non-state sector does not necessarily result in action. Teachers have also been generally ignored in the policy making process.

Corruption is one of the maj or contributing factors for failure of educational policy. It is due to lack of accountability and transparency along with low salaries of the staff. Similarly a large number of schools are operating in the records but do not actually exist, rose in record by some corrupt officials. There is also political, social cultural and moral corruption found in our education system. Teachers poorly paid in the best of circumstances, made extra money by tutoring and payment of bribes. The ultimate corruption was the outright sale of bogus certificate and degree. For transferring and posting often required payment of bribes to government agencies.

Examinations are conducted to test the ability of a student and find out his standard of academic learning and knowledge. By the use of illegal practice in our examinations have become very widespread and spoiled its objectives. The problem of illegal practices concern the examiners the

invigilators, the students, the parents and examination board. The students look upon a degree as a passport to employment in a commercial commodity which can be purchased if you pay the price. Unfortunately, some parents also share same views and have actively helped their children in using unfair means to pass the examination but the most tragic part of the story is that our educationists has also been contaminated by the poison of this evil. Our poor examination system encourages rote learning and cramming. This system is criticizing for its tendency to define education as the pursuit of high marks and not the development of intellectual power through learning. Our examination system is not regarding as an accurate measure of actual achievement and future performance. This poor system spoiled our education standard. In Sindh and Balochistan, students are allowed to use their helping material like books and notes during paper timing.

Any nation prepares their generation according to their ideology, culture and religion through education. Pakistan is an ideological state based on Islamic ideology but it is still unclear that what should be the Islamic content of our curriculum. Our system of education is not able to protect our religious norms and guide our new generation according to Islam. Despite highlighting technological and literal knowledge backwardness, government is concentrating on abolishing Islamic norms and values and hinders patriotism of Pakistani people.

The provision of providing basic education has been a goal since independence and enrolment have been increasing but percentage of student completing primary school has been falling. Only 30 percent of those who enroll in primary education ever reach to their matriculation exam. The major problem in our education is the large number of dropouts. It is estimated that it is mostly due to economic reason and unattractive school environment. Thus our school going children cannot even acquire the basic skill of learning and a number of them fall back in to the category of illiterates.

Though Pakistan has made some effort and improving the enrollment rates at the primary level, the achievement at present in this regard is still far below than other countries in the region. The present enrollment rate at Pakistan is 54 percent for males and 30 percent which is very low and comparison to other countries of the region which have by and large crossed the 100 percent mark for both male and female. Teacher absenteeism, untrained teachers, inadequate materials and obsolete teaching methods are the main reasons for low enrolment in schools. Most of the public schools are poorly managed, impart education of poor quality, use poorly written textbooks and use curricula that are not relevant for the needs of the 21st century.

Seeking of knowledge is the religious duty of every Muslim to get it is the religious duty of every Muslim. To get it done is the biggest responsibility of the state. In our education system is there is no free and compulsory education for the entire citizen available on equal bases. In the other countries of the region there is free and compulsory basic education in order to create discipline and feelings of common identity and integration, irrespective of their social and economic background.

Following are some suggestions to improve the education system in Pakistan

Lack of funding is also a problem. According to UNO standards a country should allocate 4 percent of its GDP towards education but in Pakistan a very low spending on education is found, only about 2 percent of the GDP. Moreover it is very clear that if existing funds utilized fairly then there could be no shortfall of funds.

There are many systems working here, resulting in social division and conflict. For example we have English medium schools, Urdu medium schools, and religious madrasas. Therefor, a

uniform system of education for all the citizens should be introduced. One medium of instruction should be introduced, for which English is suggesting which the demand of the modern world is.

The curriculum is usually inappropriate or at least inadequate for the set goals in many disciplines. There should be an integrated system in which one step leads to the next to enable a student to develop a truly sound base for the discipline he or she is interested in. Curriculum should be made updated to compete he the modern world. Computer education should also be introduced gradually. Religious education should be incorporated in curriculum. At the proper stage, Arabic language should also be introduced for greater unity in the Ummah, and for better understanding of Islam. True understanding of Islamic teaching can only be achieved if the people of Islamic ideology are given due important in the teaching of Islamiyat, Pakistan studies and Arabic language. Curriculum should be made interesting by institutions as museums, internet clubs, libraries, etc. Interesting and informative documentaries and activities should also be design. Contributions from the public can also be sought for this purpose.

We can improve quality of our education through teachers training because the education can only be good as the teachers. Teaching is not an as much easy profession as much it is considered in our country. Hence while hiring teachers there should be very critical process. In our country most of teachers hired due to their relationships with local MNAs. And in most places teachers hired but they do not attend schools in remote places. Some time teachers put any one else on their place and enjoy their pay while sitting in home and give some percentage to their substitute teachers. Hiring process should include written test, interview and demonstration . Teaching is an art and everyone could not teach, it should be checked through demonstrations. Government should compare its training mode with training of elite schools teachers. Or government should train trainers from elite school's trainers to improve whole training menu. Introduce high quality selection procedure for higher level teachers and introduce modern teaching techniques by use of A.V aids. Stress should be given to develop basic skills because usually even our postgraduates lack basic skills. Poor teaching is the most prominent problem, so various teams of experts should be involve in performing the improvement teaching methods by introducing and implementation of various trainings. Modern techniques should be adopted. Instruction in science, history and social studies should be incorporated in language teaching at the primary and secondary levels through activities and projects.

Teaching job is not attractive in Pakistan. Most of girls and boys do teaching just for time pass in their study gaps. The teacher's job has no respect and status in or country, that's why we have lot of low standard and unqualified teachers. The hiring process, facilities and pay packages of teachers also shows that teacher job is a poor job and professional people do not prefer it. Government should make this job attractive by announcing number of income packages especially for those who hired in remote areas. Remote area teachers should be facilitated by resident and transport facility along with additional pay. Attractive salaries pakage should be introduced for the teachers and other officials to minimize the chances of corruption. Another problem with Pakistan is brain drain. Capable and outstanding professionals prefer foreign jobs instead of serving in their own country. This is due to the low financial output and indifferent attitude of go. By facilitating them we can restore our outstanding professionals. Award system should also be introduced in shape of medals and increments for good performance.

Implementation of policy should be insuring instead of introducing new policies. There should consistency in these policies which can provide gradual steps for one another for better implementation.

Teachers professors and other educationist should be consulted in the policy making process.

The research is the key to the solution of many problems and has basic significant in bringing above qualities and improvement in education. In recognition of this fact national institute of educational research should be establish to conduct research, facility and communication, provide gelidness and counseling. Universities professors should be facilitated to conduct research. We are just allocating less than two percents of GDP. Educational budget should be increased at par with international limited to research related activities. The standard of Universities should be research centers only and must not be allowed to conduct graduate or post-graduate examinations. High priority should be given to research and development and technology, in order to solve practical problem.

Free and compulsory education should be provided on equal bases up to metric. Primary education should be made compulsory and free of cost; it is already free of cost but not compulsory.

To show good result in educational reforms great stress should be given examination system. Education ministry should try their best to conduct pure examination system. It is suggested that equal important should be given to external as well as to internal assessment, to eliminate the chances of corruption and illegal promotion.

Students should be given more scholarships and government should support the intelligent and outstanding students. Higher education commission should send position holder students of intermediate under their strict observations and conditions, to foreign developed countries for studies with full facilities and contracts to return after completion of studies. China adopts the same strategy to meet the global competitiveness. Banks should be encouraged to give student loans on easy bases.

In developed countries besides teacher's training there is strong concentration on parents training. Children passed only 8 to 6 hours with teachers and remaining 16 hours with parents. Children learn from all sorts of activities and experiences in their life therefore there is a dire need to improve their all teachers (parents are real teachers). Parents should be trained that how should they behave with their children in different matters, how could they create tolerance and democratic attitude in their children

The present government should declare a national educational emergency and involve the whole nation, including the army, in waging a war against illiteracy. For this it is suggested that it should be made a mandatory requirement for various degree programmes that the candidates, after taking their exams, shall spend a specified period of time in teaching at assigned institutions which should be given in a judicious and practical manner, Ask for volunteers with specified qualifications to contribute their services in their areas of work or residence under organized bodies of the government. Ask the public to contribute voluntarily for this purpose financially.

In a nutshell, education provides the base for socio-economic development. An educational system of poor quality may be one of the most important reasons why poor countries do not grow. In Pakistan, the quality of education is on the decline in spite of the fact that the present government has initiated drastic measures in uplifting the quality and quantity of education. It is evident that that without teachers' transformation we cannot transform the education system for improving the quality of education.

HEC

The importance of higher education as an engine of socio-economic development for Pakistan cannot be overestimated. Good quality, merit-based, equitable, efficient tertiary education and

research are essential to develop a knowledge economy, to improve standards of living and to avail of social benefits like better health, lower crime, civic responsibility, environmental awareness and a more tolerant and inclusive society.

With an ever-increasing population and increasing demands from the economy, widening and increasing participation has remained a permanent goal of the higher education sector in Pakistan.

Unfortunately, lack of political will and finances over decades have produced a higher education sector that is both small in size and low in performance – a condition that is not compatible with national objectives to develop as a modern and competitive society. Additional factors like poor quality of education at the secondary level, poor grasp of English language by students, and the unstable socio-political environment of universities heavily impact the quality equilibrium. At the turn of this century, only 2.9% of the approximately 21 million people between the ages of 17 and 23 in Pakistan had access to university education. At present, there are a total 114 universities in the country – only 64 in the public sector. There has been a proliferation of private universities in recent years, but they have tended to specialize in market-oriented disciplines like IT, Management Sciences and Business.

The Higher Education Commission (HEC) was formed in 2002 with strong political support and substantial budgetary allocations to start an extensive reform process in higher education. To improve access, learning needs for the 21st century had to be balanced with the willingness/capacity of institutions to expand. It has therefore been a priority to optimize the utilization of existing resources and focusing on physical infrastructure development, as well as technological infrastructure development so that modern approaches including distance education methodologies can play their proper role. To raise participation in higher education, the HEC has also focused on quality improvement in faculty, research and learning environment, curricula, governance, assessment, accreditation of institutions, and industrial linkages. Equity issues have been approached mainly through the provision of need-based scholarships for marginalized groups. As per the latest data, enrolment in public institutions is now increasing at approximately 30% per year – at par with the private sector.

The HEC has declared the following as its core strategic aims:

(a) Faculty development
(b) Improving access
(c) Promoting excellence in learning and research
(d) Relevance to the economy
(e) Developing leadership, governance and management
(f) Enhancing quality
(g) Physical and technological infrastructure development

As has been discussed above, higher education has only recently received greater emphasis than ever before. If we recall the goal of the 1947 Education Policy statement, it was expected that a class of elite would be created through higher education that would determine the quality of our civilization and would direct and plan our national life. This aspiration is true even today and investment in higher education will permit the society to achieve this goal. The issues of relevance and quality of higher education will allow the product of a university to be equipped with the capacity to innovate, create and determine the contours of a knowledge based economy. The emphasis on quality needs to be further strengthened, as only numerical achievement in the field of higher education is not

a necessary guarantor of a quality product. Our universities must become centres of research and creative learning, providing answers today to the questions of tomorrow and not learning today the answers of yester years.

Presently with the national investment in education at 2.2% of the GDP, investment in higher education is around 15% of this outlay. In our view while investment in education should rise, over the next 4 years, to 4% of the GDP, the share of higher education should rise to the level of about 18- 20% of the total investment during the same period. In another 5 years, while the investment in education should increase to 6% of the GDP, a quarter of that investment should go to higher education by 2015.

While higher education has been in the lime light over the last 3 years, it has been perceived to be at the cost of elementary and secondary education. However, in absolute numbers, higher education needs further financial resources. It is another matter that investment in elementary and secondary education (including higher secondary education and TVE) must be substantially increased to create an intra sector balance between various sub-sectors. The perception that education is completed only on obtaining a tertiary degree does not necessarily hold good and this needs to be changed. Only those interested in research should go for higher education. It also appears that the emphasis on sciences is at the expense of humanities thus compromising transmission of basic and cultural values. It also appears that Higher Education Commission (HEC) is working in divorce from other policy frameworks. While the HEC is keen to improve the key areas of access, quality and relevance, quality issues in higher education institutions continue to persist and more long term answers are needed rather than celebration of short term numerical achievements. There is a serious concern about the quality of distance learning provided by Allama Iqbal Open University (AIOU). This has pervasive repercussions on the quality of such pursuits, and particularly affects in-service capacity enhancement programmes. It is understood that AIOU is conscious of its current weaknesses but strong commitment and investment needs to be made in AIOU because of the wide spread influence that it has over so many areas of learning and production of skilled people for economic development. Greater investment needs to be made in assurance of quality product from higher learning and the HEC must ensure that assessment procedures in higher education are of the highest international standards and the HEC being a regulator needs to be a guarantor of all university degrees in Pakistan for minimum acceptable standards. Regarding relevance of university education, the issue will be separately addressed in this document.

Education provides the base for socio-economic development. An educational system of poor quality may be one of the most important reasons why poor countries do not grow. In Pakistan, the quality of education is on the decline in spite of the fact that the present government has initiated drastic measures in uplifting the quality and quantity of education. Quality of teachers especially at primary level is still questionable. It is evident that that without teachers' transformation we cannot transform the education system for improving the quality of education. In this regard, a series of education reforms in the area of teacher education were introduced in the public sector but their vision seemed to be narrow, hence, they failed to make any substantial impact on the quality of teachers and teaching process. Eventually, it further affected the quality of education being offered in schools. Education system of Pakistan is facing new challenges. It has yet to be developed at par with other developing countries in the region.

POVERTY, CAUSES, EFFECTS & SUGGESTIONS

OUTLINE

- What is poverty?
- Poverty in Pakistan
- Causes of Poverty in Pakistan
  - Feudalism
  - Low education budget
  - Corrupt politicians and successive martial laws
  - Lack of planning
  - Social problems
  - Corruption
  - Increasing population
  - Economic loss
  - Lack of access to basic services
- Effects of Poverty
  - Child labour
  - Crimes and violence
  - Health issues
  - Sub standard of life
  - Social evils
- Suggestions
  - Abolish feudalism
  - Increase education budget
  - Quality education
  - Providing basic facility of life
  - Technical education
  - Eliminate corruption
  - Good governance
  - Effective planning of the government
  - Controlling population
  - Igher economic growth
- Conclusion

ESSAY

"Poor and content is rich, and rich enough." –William Shakespeare

"Wars of nations are fought to change maps. But wars of poverty are fought to map change." ***–Muhammad Ali***

"The mother of revolution and crime is poverty." "Poverty is the parent of revolution and crime." ***–Aristotle***

"Wealth and poverty: the one is the parent of luxury and indolence, and the other of meanness and viciousness, and both of discontent." ***–Plato***

Poverty is a global phenomenon that expresses pronounced deprivation in well being of people. It exists where people are deprived of the means to satisfy their basic needs that are mandatory to their survival. Poverty breeds unbridled crimes and moral degradation, frustration and bribery, malnutrition and infectious diseases so on and so forth. Thus aspirations of the deprived people never materialize throughout their lives and their sufferings end with their deaths while the rich led luxurious lives and enjoy every kind of facility.

There are many definitions of poverty depending on the context of the situation and the views of the person giving the definition. These are some from various sources including a well-known development scholar. Poverty is also often divided into relative poverty and absolute poverty. Poverty can also be defined as a condition wherein a person cannot satisfy his or her basic needs, namely, food, shelter, clothing, health and education.

"Poverty is pronounced deprivation in well-being, and comprises many dimensions. It includes low incomes and the inability to acquire the basic goods and services necessary for survival with dignity. Poverty also encompasses low levels of health and education, poor access to clean water and sanitation, inadequate physical security, lack of voice, and insufficient capacity and opportunity to better one's life." ***—World Bank***

"Fundamentally, poverty is a denial of choices and opportunities, a violation of human dignity. It means lack of basic capacity to participate effectively in society. It means not having enough to feed and clothe a family, not having a school or clinic to go to, not having the land on which to grow one's food or a job to earn one's living, not having access to credit. It means insecurity, powerlessness and exclusion of individuals, households and communities. It means susceptibility to violence, and it often implies living in marginal or fragile environments, without access to clean water or sanitation."

—United Nations

Poverty is a condition characterized by severe deprivation of basic human needs, including food, safe drinking water, sanitation facilities, health, shelter, education and information. It depends not only on income but also on access to services. It includes a lack of income and productive resources to ensure sustainable livelihoods; hunger and malnutrition; ill health; limited or lack of access to education and other basic services; increased morbidity and mortality from illness; homelessness and inadequate housing; unsafe environments and social discrimination and exclusion. It is also characterized by lack of participation in decision making and in civil, social and cultural life. It occurs in all countries: as mass poverty in many developing countries, pockets of poverty amid wealth in developed countries, loss of livelihoods as a result of economic recession, sudden poverty as

a result of disaster or conflict, the poverty of low-wage workers, and the utter destitution of people who fall outside family support systems, social institutions and safety nets.

To know what helps to reduce poverty, what works and what does not, what changes over time, poverty has to be defined, measured, and studied — and even experienced. As poverty has many dimensions, it has to be looked at through a variety of indicators — levels of income and consumption, social indicators, and indicators of vulnerability to risks and of socio/political access.

Pakistan is a poor country. Its economy is facing fluctuations now a day. At the time of independence Pakistan has very low resources and capital, so the processes of progress were very slow. Unfortunately the politicians of Pakistan were all not well aware of modern global system and the progress processes and the needs of country. Due to bad policies today Pakistan is facing a lot of problems. The continuous failure of policies leads the people of country to miserable conditions. The major problem in the country is poverty which is becoming the cause of crime and social disorder.

It is difficult to point out all causes of poverty in Pakistan but the major causes of are given below:

Pakistan is home to a large feudal landholding system where landholding families hold thousands of acres and do little work on the agriculture themselves. They enlist the services of their serfs to perform the labor of the land. 51% of poor tenants owe money to the landlords. The landlords' position of power allows them to exploit the only resource the poor can possibly provide by using their own labor. Fuedal Lords hold 70-80 % of our total land.

The literacy rate of Pakistan is very low. The reason is that Pakisan just spends 2.1 % of GDP on education Economic Survey of Pakistan 2015. Most of people do not have any concept about the modern earning sources. Most people are unable to adopt technology for their business needs, that's why businesses do not meet international standards and result as decrease in revenue which lead the society to poor financial conditions.

Pakistan has been run by military dictatorships for large periods of time, alternating with limited democracy. These rapid changes in governments led to rapid policy changes and reversals and the reduction of transparency and accountability in government. The onset of military regimes have contributed to non-transparency in resource allocation. In particular, the neglect by the Pakistani state of the Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa has rendered the region poverty-stricken. Those who do not constitute the political elite are unable to make political leaders and the Government responsive to their needs or accountable to promises. Development priorities are determined not by potential beneficiaries but by the bureaucracy and a political elite which may or may not be in touch with the needs of the citizens. Political instability and macroeconomic imbalances have been reflected in poor creditworthiness ratings, even compared to other countries of similar income levels, with resulting capital flight and lower foreign direct investment inflows.

Government is not well aware of present conditions of country. The policies of government are based on the suggestions of officials which do not have awareness about the problems of a common man. After implementation, the policies do not get effective result. After the failure of one policy, government does not consider its failure and announces another policy without studying the aftermaths of last one. Heavy taxes and unemployment crushes the people and they are forced to live below poverty line. The suitable medical facilities are not provided to people and they are forced to get treatment for private clinics which are too costly.

Poverty and the lack of a modern curriculum have proved destabilizing factors for Pakistani society that have been exploited by militant organizations banned by the government to run schools and produce militant literature. Though many madrassas are benign, there are those that subscribe to

the radicalist branches of Sunni Islam. As a result, militant Islamic political parties have become more powerful in Pakistan and have considerable sympathy among the poor. This phenomenon is more pronounced in KPK.

Another cause of poverty is corruption. There are two types of corruption. There is not morality and everyone is trying to earn more and more by using fair and unfair means. Officials waste their time has low efficiency. Only one relationship that exists in society is money. One has to pay a heavy cost to get his right. Law and order conditions are out of control and institutions are failed to provide justice to a common man. Justice can be bought by money only. But government is unable to control such type of things. In this whole scenario, some corrupt people have been occupying the resources and common man is living in miserable conditions.

In our society social bonding are gradually becomes thinner and thinner. A race of material object has been started even no one tried to understand the problems of others. Everyone is gradually changing from human to a bioman which only know about his needs and have no concept about the limitations of others. People are not ready to help each other. At last everyone has lost his trust on others which affect our social and economic system and it is another cause of poverty.

The import of Pakistan is greater than export. Big revenue is consumed in importing good every year, even raw material has to import for industry. If we decrease import and establish own supply chains from our country natural resources the people will have better opportunities to earn. Foreign investor comes to local markets. They inest millions of dollars in stock markets and stock market gets rise in index. Then the investor withdraws his money with profit and market suddenly collapses. The poor people always faced aftermaths.

In addition, Pakistan's major cities and urban centres are home to an estimated 1.2 million street children. This includes beggars and scavengers who are often very young. The law and order problem worsens their condition as boys and girls are fair game to others who would force them into stealing, scavenging and smuggling to survive. A large proportion consumes readily available solvents to starve off hunger, loneliness and fear. Children are vulnerable to contracting STDs such as HIV/AIDS, as well as other diseases.

The incidence of rural poverty is highest among those who own no land—more than one half of the rural population. Inequity in land ownership in Pakistan is responsible for agricultural yields which are below those of other countries at similar income levels. Female-headed households, tribal groups and those living at or below the subsistence level are particularly vulnerable. Poverty rates also vary significantly among provinces, from a low of 16 percent in the northeastern areas to 44 percent in KPK Province.

Following are the effects of poverty in Pakistan

- The first and most immediate effects of poverty in Pakistani society that people do not send their children to schools. In Pakistan, nearly 4 million children 5-14 years of age group (Federal Bureau of Statistics) work.
- The poverty of his formative years in the underground mines, the work is very dangerous places to work at cement industry, tobacco production, processing, and more with live electrical failure could force the dissolved
- Direct impact on poverty, crime and violence in Pakistan. Human Trafficking of the most common form of (violence) prostitution, which is run mostly by poverty. According to the survey, the poor men are involved in violence on his wife for the purposes of the income. Women selling their bodies by their family members are forced to earn something.

- Poor people are suffering from many diseases. They do not care enough resources. Pakistan ranks 135th out of 194 countries for this reason that the life expectancy at birth of the index. In Pakistan, the life expectancy rate at birth is 65 years or less. When the Western countries it is 80 + years as Japan, Hong Kong, Australia, Switzerland, Iceland, etc.

Following are the suggestions to overcome poverty.

The biggest developmental challenge facing Pakistan is how to meet the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) of bringing down the incidence of poverty from current level of poverty 37% to 18% by 2015. Whereas, our experience so far shows that it is easy to relapse into higher incidence of poverty but it is quite an uphill battle to recover the lost ground. However, alleviating poverty may be difficult but by no means it is impossible. Because, it is man made and not natural like slavery and apartheid, therefore, it can be over come and eradicated. The need is not for one or two isolated policies but for a comprehensive package of complementary and supportive policies to tackle the problem. Building a more widespread commitment to overcoming poverty is an essential first step in overcoming poverty, and some of the actions are addressed in the following paragraphs.

- A policy or a set of policies should be designed to ensure economic growth in the country because higher economic growth rate and poverty reduction are strongly correlated. However growth is necessary but the sufficient condition for poverty reduction. Growth has to be accompanied by many other essential policy measures.
- Fuedalism should be abolished to ensure equal opportunity for all citizens of Pakistan. For that, effective land reforms on the pattern of Indian land reforms taken after independence can bring fruit and relief to our pierced society.
- A policy or a set of policies should be designed to ensure economic growth in the country because higher economic growth rate and poverty reduction are strongly correlated. However growth is necessary but the sufficient condition for poverty reduction. Growth has to be accompanied by many other essential policy measures.
- If government aims to reduce widespread poverty via a sustainable growth accelerating strategy, it must focus fundamentally on providing access to the quality education to the children of poor families. To provide schooling to this large pool of out of school children, spending on basic education should be gradually increased from the lowest in the south Asian region around 2% of GDP to at least 4% of GDP during the next three years. Similarly, the absenteeism of teachers should be overcome through strict monitoring and supervision and introducing accountability in the system. However, in view the paucity of government funds, and acknowledged weaknesses in implementation of development programs, the government could also look to facilitating and strengthening the non-profit organizations in private sector, to complement the public sector programs, to maximize the provision of quality education to the children from poor families.
- It would not be wrong to say that Pakistan's socio- economic development has been a victim of corruption and corrupt practices. Corruption, both in government and business has placed heavy cost on Pakistani society and there is a need to follow fair, transparent and follow moral and ethical codes of conduct banning corruption in both, public and private sectors. If Pakistan's government and its policy makers are determined to achieve Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) with regards to poverty alleviation then such resolve with high degree of commitment needs to be reiterated by the Parliament in respect of the Benazir Income Support and other poverty alleviation programs.

- Government should take some strong measures for human development program like education, health, employment opportunities, sanitation, nutrition and population etc.
- Government has to establish technical and vocational training centers whereby our youth get some practical training and may be able to find job for themselves. For the expansion of education government should assist the private sector and nonprofit organizations.
- Another important element of the strategy is to improve the living standard of masses and to modify the equal distribution of income to the gross root level. The government has discouraged the formation of micro finance institutions for those who are land less and without any tangible assets. The weak and vulnerable segment of the society has to be supported by social safety nets and transfers such as zakat and bait-ul-maal etc.
- It would be appropriate to say that mother root cause to all the causes of poverty in Pakistan is poor governance at public and corporate sector both. Shortsighted policies and wrong priorities have led the menace of poverty like a spiral growth. Unless institutional efficiency is enhanced and the participation of communities ensured, past experience indicates that public resources will continue to be mismanaged. Before making any new allocation or throwing away money in new ventures on the name of poverty alleviation, there is a dire need that we must identify different target sectors under various categories such as human development, community services, rural development, safety nets and governance on the basis of any objective assessment without any political or party/ government affiliations. Government must fulfill its obligation of spending at least 4.5% of the GDP on pro-poor sectors.
- A well thought out set of policies should be designed to correct market disequilibrium. Correcting distort prices should contribute to productive efficiency, employment opportunities and less poverty.
- There is dire need to have a fresh insight on our policies and programs controlling international trade, population growth, agriculture and energy sector reforms and readjust our fiscal and monitory policies accordingly.

To sum up, poverty in Pakistan can only be alleviated by sharpening the human capital by improving literacy and investing in skill development, good governance, community empowerment, long term economic growth, socio- political justice and real term democratic culture. It cannot be expected for everything to be fixed overnight. It is very important though to establish goals and set up priorities. What is needed most is a stable democratic government, basic essentials for all, access to proper education and healthcare and social justice for all in stable social order.

EXPECTED QUESTIONS:

- **Poverty Alleviation**
- **How can poverty be eradicated in Pakistan?**

MEDIA IN PAKISTAN/MEDIA, THE KING MAKER

OUTLINE

- Media ethics
  - Fairness and right of reply
  - Acceptance of favours and bribes
  - Discrimination
  - Accuracy
  - Disclosure of sources
  - Social responsibility
  - Respect for human dignity
  - Plagiarism
  - Independence
- Role of media in society
  - As the fourth pillar of the state
  - The news function
  - The opinion function
  - The entertainment function
  - Media as a watchdog
  - Media as king maker
- Problems of media in Pakistan
  - Sensationalism (Yellow Journalism)
  - Media bias or propaganda
  - Media violence
  - Media hype
  - Commercialism
  - A state within a state
- Suggestions for improvement
  - Media code of ethics
  - Media laws in Pakistan

ESSAY

Pakistan came into existence on 14th august 1947. Quaid-e- Azam, the first Governor General of Pakistan, had a clear concept of press freedom. He said, "I expect you (journalists) to be completely fearless. If I go wrong for that matter Muslim league goes wrong in any direction. I want you to criticize it honestly as its friend." He did not allow legislation to suppress the press. Just one month after his death in September 1948, Public Safety Ordinance was implemented in October. In the first 7 years of independence from 1947 to 1953, 31 newspapers were banned.

Media ethics deal with the specific ethical principles and standards of media,including broadcast media, film, theatre, the arts, print media and the internet. By ethics, we mean the moral principles which determine the rightness or wrongness of particular acts. Ethical codes are usually self-imposed principles to adhere to in order to foster and protect one's rights and privileges for mutual interests. Some of the basic ethical codes to be practiced by the journalists are the following:

Journalists shall write and the mass media shall publish, broadcast or report fair, accurate, unbiased stories. All sides of the story shall be reported. The right to reply from any person mentioned in an unfavourable context shall be obtained, as appropriate.

Journalists and their employers shall conduct themselves in a manner that protects them from real or apparent conflicts of interest. Such conflicts of interest may arise through accepting gifts, bribes, favours, free travel, special treatment or any other form of inducement or privilege.

The mass media shall avoid prejudiced, pejorative or stigmatising language in reference to, among other things, a person's nationality, ethnicity, class, religion, political affiliation or sex, or to any physical or mental illness or disability. Such references shall be eschewed unless they are germane to a story.

It is the public's right to unbiased, accurate, balanced and comprehensive information, and the journalist's duty to make adequate enquiries and cross check his/her facts.

The journalist shall observe professional secrecy regarding the source of information obtained in confidence.

In collecting and disseminating information, the journalist should bear in mind his/her responsibility to the public at large and the various interests in society.

The journalist will respect and defend basic freedoms and rights of human beings as stipulated in all the international and regional charters and conventions, with sensitivity to socio-economic status and socio-cultural issues.

It is the duty of the journalist to regard plagiarism as unethical and to always credit the source.

The journalist shall exercise his/her profession in the public interest without undue interference from any quarter.

The media is considered to be the fourth pillar of the state: the first three being the legislature, executive and the judiciary. The role of media is very significant and vital in a civilized society. It provides information to the people makes them aware of their problems and educates them by suggesting solutions to these problems. Thereby, it moulds or shapes public opinion through its reporting, editorials, articles, etc.

The primary function of the media is to inform. Factual representation of the day's news is the elementary function of the media in society. The mass media informs and educates the public about

the issues surrounding their country and the wider world. This makes people aware of the events that are happening around them.

Modern man frequently finds himself in the midst of conflict and confusion. He wants and needs a medium of communication that will help him to act wisely on the basis of logical arguments rather than emotional appeals. Media helps creating public opinion and aids people in the understanding of the issues of immediate importance.

While performing the functions of informing and educating the public the media also serves as an entertainment tool for the people. The soft news regarding sports and celebrities caters to the needs of the public.

The media acts as a watchdog in a society. The function of watch dog is related to the aspect of investigative reporting by the media. The media holds the government office bearers accountable to the people. The vigilance and the proactive behaviour of the media keep the politicians conscious of their deeds.

Media is also known to be a king maker. This means that the media has the ability to provide power to certain people in society. The media through its reporting can mould the public opinion regarding a political figure by giving him or her positive fame required to win the hearts of the people. Likewise, the media also has the ability to reduce the popularity of a famous figure through reporting it to public.

Media in Pakistan enjoys freedom. However, there are a number of problems of media in Pakistan that need to be addressed. They are the following:

Yellow journalism presents little or no legitimate well-researched news and instead uses eye-catching headlines to sell more newspapers. Techniques may include exaggerations of news events, scandal-mongering, or sensationalism. Some newspapers in Pakistan resort to sensationalised news for making more business out of the newspaper. Sensationalism is against the ethical codes of journalism and must be eliminated from the media society. Many news channels also present sensational news to allure the public. Often minor issues are highlighted in the form of breaking news that deceives the public and is morally wrong.

Propaganda is a form of communication that is aimed at influencing the attitude of a community towards some cause or position so as to benefit oneself. As opposed to impartially providing information, propaganda, in its most basic sense, presents information primarily to influence an audience. Propaganda often presents facts selectively (thus possibly lying by omission) to encourage a particular synthesis, or uses loaded messages to produce an emotional rather than rational response to the information presented. Media in Pakistan often reports news events with bias. Importance is given to one side of the story while all the aspects under consideration are not looked upon. As a result the public doesn't get the true picture of the events.

Another major problem with the Pakistani media is the irresponsible behaviour while reporting bomb blasts coverage. The media must not transgress its limits at any time. The grotesque images of bloodshed are given maximum coverage by the media. Reporting widespread violence affects the public psychologically making them desensitised to the suffering of the victims.

Media in Pakistan does not hesitate to create hype of minor events. In creating hype of certain selected events or news stories the important news get neglected. One of such examples is the unnecessary news coverage given to Shoaib Malik's and SaniaMirza's affair.

The modern free media of Pakistan is based on commercialism. A number of news channels seem to be running in a rat race of reporting an event in the first place without considering the

sensitive nature of the news or issue. The media has a right to earn profits but not at the expense of providing twisted truths to the public.

Media becomes a state within a state when it tries to take the command of the country in its own hands. The freedom of media has significant importance in a democratic society; nonetheless, issues of national interest need to be reported with utmost responsibility. National security has the highest of importance. So the media must adhere to the limits while reporting controversial issues.

Empowerment of media is a sign of democracy. However, with power comes the element of responsibility. The media can effectively play its role in a society by practicing the ethical codes of journalism. Apart from this, the media predominantly in Pakistan is urban-centered and obsessed with politics whether Pakistani or abroad. Politics and issues of international relations have gained immense importance in the current era, but the issues of the common man are often left unreported. Development journalism needs to be further practised so that the issues from the grass root level can be reported. Also, the media needs to develop a self regulatory system that evaluates the performance of the media and indicates the short comings that need improvement.

In order to overcome the problems of media, it is the need of the hour to implement media ethics that are as following:

1. Journalism is a profession based upon commitment to principles of honesty, fairness, credibility and respect for the truth.
2. A journalist is obliged to uphold the highest professional and ethical standards and shall at all times defend the principle of freedom of the press and media.
3. A journalist shall ensure that information he/she provides is fair, accurate and not subject to falsification, distortion, inappropriate selection, misrepresentation or any form of censorship.
4. A journalist shall avoid the expression of comment and conjecture as fact.
5. A journalist shall protect confidential sources of information.
6. A journalist shall not distort or suppress the truth for commercial, institutional or other special interests.
7. A journalist shall not accept personal favours, bribes, inducements, nor shall he/she allow any other factor pertaining to his/her own person to influence the performance of his/her professional duties.
8. A journalist shall not publish or broadcast extreme images of violence, mutilation, corpses or victims of tragedy irrespective of the cause unless it is necessary in the public interest.
9. A journalist shall neither originate nor process material, which incites discrimination, ridicule, prejudice or hatred.
10. A journalist shall not take prior advantage of information gained in the course of his/her professional duties for private gain.
11. A journalist shall obtain information, data, photographs, and illustrations only by straightforward means. The use of other means can be justified only by overriding considerations of the public interest.
12. A journalist shall avoid intrusion into private life, grief or distress, except when there are overriding considerations of public interest.
13. A journalist shall not exceed the limits of ethical caution and fair comment because of time constraints or to gain competitive advantage.

14. A journalist shall not glorify the perpetrators of illegitimate acts of violence committed under any garb or cause, including honour and religion.
15. A journalist shall never indulge in plagiarism. Using or passing off the works of another as one's own and without crediting the source is a serious ethical offence.
16. A journalist shall strive to ensure that his writing or broadcast contains no discriminatory material or comment based on matters of race, national or ethnic origin, colour, age, sex, marital status or physical or mental handicap.

Following are the media laws.

Media is mighty, hence in the very nature of things its use and conduct must be regulated by norms conducive to the accomplishment of its objectives. This can best be done by the help of a well codified law which not only ensures that media doesn't transgress the limits thus affecting the stability of the state but also ensures its prosperity.

In a society which is still in the process of growth and development, the laws are necessary to regulate and streamline the conduct of its members. However, unfortunately most of the laws are designed so as to curb the freedom of media and to curtail the fundamental right of freedom of speech and expression.

The efforts of Muslims for freedom in 1945 had gained momentum by 1947. During this time the rifts between the Muslims and Hindus were widening. To halt these, the Government of India introduced a new Press Act called the Central Press Powers Act. Under this Act, the local administration was given the powers to hold hearing against violations of press laws. In India, this Act was known as the Public Safety Act, while in Pakistan it was reinforced as the Central Press Special Powers Act.

The rules formulated under this Act affected both the newspapers and the printing presses. These are as follows:

1. The Government has a right to stop the publication of any news or article.
2. The Government can cease the publication of any printable material without providing a reason to its editor, owner or publisher.
3. In case of publishing any news or article against Government policy, the editor or publisher can be subjected to strict action.
4. Any Government official can, during a sudden inspection of the printing press, check any material or stop it from being published
5. Police officers are given similar rights as mentioned in the preceding section.
6. The Police, under this law, can arrest any person caught in possession of any prohibited material.
7. Under this Act, every publication would be passed through censorship.

A lot of newspapers were closed and others had to pay heavy sums in the name of securities to continue printing.

Some of Pakistan Penal Code (1960) provisions closely relate to the freedom of the press.

1. Section 124A: it prescribed punishments for the authors and publishers of seditious writings. However, the word sedition was not properly defined and was subject to controversy.
2. Section 153A: under this, punishment could be given to the person on reason of creating enmity between various classes of people in Pakistan.
3. Section 499-502: it essentially formed the law of defamation, where a defamed person could lodge a case with the police.

4. Section 505: it was related to causing members of the armed forces to mutiny or otherwise disregard or fail in duty, inducing anyone to commit an offence against the state or against public tranquility and to incite one community against the other.
5. West Pakistan maintenance of public order ordinance: this law was promulgated in 1960 providing for suspension of newspapers for specified periods when they are guilty of disturbing public order.

Press and Publications Ordinance (PPO 1963) is following:

A press commission was set up by the central government on September 28, 1954. The commission was required to examine and report the laws regulating the press in Pakistan and to make recommendations necessary for the amendment, revision or consolidation of these laws.

After four years of strenuous labour, the commission came to the conclusion that "the press in this country is by and large patriotic. It suffers, like other institutions in every newborn and democratic country, from certain special weaknesses."

After examining the previous laws the commission's concluding remarks were as follows:

"Having reviewed the laws pertaining to press in Pakistan we wish to comment on a fundamental issue, i.e. the freedom of the press. Freedom of the press though a very popular slogan has not been studied and understood with the care it deserves. There is generally no realization that as in the case of other forms of freedoms, such as freedom of expression, freedom of the press is regulated with due regard to the paramount consideration of safeguarding the integrity and security of the country and protecting its citizens against scurrilous writings and malicious attacks."

To this conclusion the commission added long extracts from the report of drafting committee on the UN covenant of human rights as submitted at the conference on freedom of information held in Geneva in April 1948, international code of ethics for journalists and a passage from the judgment of the US supreme court. The main thrust of these extracts was that, "the right to freedom of expression carried with it duties and responsibilities" and" a clear cut distinction is made between the freedom of expression and license."

Freedom of Information Ordinance (2002) was promulgated in 2002 to provide for transparency and freedom of information.

Under this ordinance, it was stated that information related to government matters would be provided to any person. only if they provide the magistrate with an application to do so. Moreover, the magistrate would be to decide whether the information would be exposed, after ensuring the need of its disclosure.

However, such information which on disclosure could harm the law enforcement agencies, relations of Pakistan with foreign states, the privacy of any individual and to the economy could not be disclosed in any circumstances.

PEMRA–the Pakistan electronic media regulation authority was established in General Musharraf's reign on March 1, 2002 through an ordinance. Later it was amended in 2007 under the same government.

The PEMRA Ordinance in its original form was a bad law to start with, because it created a mechanism to control the electronic media in violation to the objectives given in the Ordinance itself.

1. The Electronic Media Regulatory Authority was set up to control the working of broadcasters in the private sector only. Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation, the Pakistan Television Corporation, and the Shalimar Recording Company (STN) were not subject to PEMRA Ordinance. This meant that the high sounding PEMRA objectives, especially development of

media for socially desirable tasks, were not recommended to the electronic media already under state control. In other words, regulation of electronic media meant imposition of control/censorship over channels outside the public sector.

2. The Ordinance of 2007 had a provision (not found in the ordinance of 1997) to the effect that the Federal Government has the power to issue directives to PEMRA on matters of policy and PEMRA is bound to follow these directives. That is, PEMRA is not an autonomous body.
3. The 2007 law clearly states that the licensee will be obliged to broadcast or distribute programmes referred to it by the Federal Government or the Authority. This provision is common to laws on all media-control bodies.
4. Section 21 of the 2002 law provided for consultation with the provincial governments on location of new enterprises but this condition has been dropped by the amendment. That is, even a small concession to provincial authority is unwelcome.
5. The Authority could revoke a license on a number of grounds and one of them is "reason of necessity in the public interest" and when action was taken on this ground there was no need to issue a show cause notice, which was required before action on any other ground.
6. Both the laws of 1997 and 2002 provided for inspection of premises and access to authority's representatives but in the recent amendment the police have been authorized to take action against broadcasters and their staff.
7. Much had been made of the amendment which striked down the provision against private monopolies and the bar to cross media ownership which was a feature of both the legislations of 1997 and 2002. One is not sure that the proposed change will make for greater freedom of expression because the bigger an enterprise the more vulnerable it is to official pressure.

EXPECTED QUESTIONS:

- **Without system of check and balance, media can be disaterous for a country.**
- **In Pakistan, Media has created a state within a state**
- **Yellow Journalism**
- **What are the ethics of Journalism?**
- **How can media be controlled effectively in Pakistan?**

DEMOCRACY IN PAKISTAN

OUTLINE

- ❑ What is democracy?
- ❑ Essentials of democracy
- ❑ Democracy in Pakistan
- ❑ A brief history
  - Early period from 1947-58
  - Period of General Ayub and General Zia
  - Political turmoil and General Pervaz Musharraf
- ❑ Causes of failure of democracy in Pakistan
  - Delayed Framing of the Constitution
  - Feudalism
  - Leadership Crisis
  - Lack of education
  - No independence of judiciary
  - Weak political parties and their infighting
  - Delayed elections and rigging
  - Corruption and nepotism
  - Quasi-Federalism and Conflict between Eastern and Western Wings
  - Terrorism and extremism
- ❑ Pakistani Democracy vs Western democracy
- ❑ Suggestions
  - Effective accountability of the politicians
  - Reforming judiciary
  - Abolish feudalism
  - Eliminate corruption
  - Two parties system on the pattern of the USA, UK
  - Amendement in the constitution
  - Fair and free election
  - Increase education budget to educate people
  - Uninterrupted democratic process
  - Strengthening the institutions
- ❑ Conclusion

ESSAY

"You have to stand guard over the development and maintenance of Islamic democracy, Islamic social justice and the equality of manhood in your own native soil."

~ Muhammad Ali Jinnah

"If liberty and equality, as is thought by some, are chiefly to be found in democracy, they will be best attained when all persons alike share in government to the utmost."

~Aristotle

In a democracy the poor will have more power than the rich, because there are more of them, and the will of the majority is supreme. ***~ Aristotle***

To acquire immunity to eloquence is of the utmost importance to the citizens of a democracy. ***~Bertrand Russell***

The democracy process provides for political and social change without violence.

~Aung San SuuKyi

Democracy is a form of government in which all citizens have an equal say in the decisions that affect their lives. Ideally, this includes equal (and more or less direct) participation in the proposal, development and passage of legislation into law. It can also encompass social, economic and cultural conditions that enable the free and equal practice of political self-determination. While there is no specific, universally accepted definition of 'democracy', equality and freedom have both been identified as important characteristics of democracy since ancient times. These principles are reflected in all citizens being equal before the law and having equal access to legislative processes. For example, in a representative democracy, every vote has equal weight, no unreasonable restrictions can apply to anyone seeking to become a representative, and the freedom of its citizens is secured by legitimized rights and liberties which are generally protected by a constitution.

Many people use the term "democracy" as shorthand for liberal democracy, which may include elements such as political pluralism; equality before the law; the right to petition elected officials for redress of grievances; due process; civil liberties; human rights; and elements of civil society outside the government. In the United States, separation of powers is often cited as a central attribute, but in other countries, such as the United Kingdom, the dominant principle is that of parliamentary sovereignty (though in practice judicial independence is generally maintained). In other cases, "democracy" is used to mean direct democracy. Though the term "democracy" is typically used in the context of a political state, the principles are applicable to private organizations and other groups as well.

Democracy in its true spirit has never been allowed to take roots in Pakistan. Since its independence in 1947, a military-bureaucratic establishment has always governed the country. Army generals usurp power at their own convenience and quit only when they are forced to quit by mass political movements or by a sudden unexpected death. When forced by external or internal pressures, democracy is given a chance but in reality a group of army generals keep controlling the decision-making. This direct or indirect military influence is the greatest impediment to the evolution of a stable governing system in Pakistan. Besides, army is not soley responsible for this mass but it is our inefficient politicans who provide opportunity to army to take over.

Recalling the last 62 years of Pakistan, democracy is found only as an interval before the next military general comes to the scene. Future of democracy was doomed from the start when Liaquat Ali Khan, the first elected Prime Minister, was shot at a public gathering. Nobody knows to this day that who did it and why. From now on, the balance of power was to shift in the favor of military. A comparison tells us how this shift came up. From 1951-57 India had one Prime Minister and several army chiefs while during the same period Pakistan had one army chief and several Prime ministers. The same army chief, the Sandhurst trained general, Ayub Khan was to announce the first martial law in the country in 1958 and then a series of military rule was to follow.

General Ayub Khan could not withstand a popular national movement against him and transferred power to General Yahya Khan in March 1969. Under him Pakistan lost its half which is now Bangladesh. Power was then transferred to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto as the first civilian martial law administrator. Bhutto pursued an independent policy, which was against what generals and the US wanted, and he had to pay with his life. Charged for compliance in murder, Bhutto was hanged by the next martial law administrator, General Zia ulHaq. Hanging of an elected Prime Minister was shocking news to the world and Pakistan was to have the effects years later. The general died in a mysterious plane crash.

Then came a ten years gap of experimentation with democracy and every two years each elected government being ousted by the special discretionary powers of the president. An end to this ten-year spell came with a new general coming to power ousting the incumbent elected government of Mian Nawaz Sharif. This time the Prime Minister was charged for conspiring against the state and was ousted from the country.

Military rule has ruined the state structure of Pakistan as a whole with only the elite benefiting from the system and no benefit being passed over to the general public. History is witness to the fact that Pakistan has lost territory while under direct military rule. The dictator mentality and military's love for the use of force has fanned various separatist movements in the country.

The immediate and foremost requirement of the Constituent Assembly was to frame a democratic constitution for the country. The constitution had to lay down the form of government, the role of judiciary, military, and bureaucracy. It had to decide the basic issues about provincial autonomy, religion and the state, joint or separate electorate, representation of minorities and women in assemblies, fundamental rights and civil liberties. The debate over the representation of eastern and western wings of the country and religion versus secularism were the two main hindrances in the way of framing the constitution. As against India, which was able to frame the constitution of the country within two years of independence in 1949, Pakistan took nine years to finalize the constitution in 1956, which did not work for more than two years and was abrogated.

The second constitution was framed by a military ruler General Ayub in 1962 which could last as long as he was in power. Finally, it was after the separation of East Pakistan and a lapse of more than quarter of a century (1947-1973) that the elected representatives of the people under the leadership of Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto framed a consensus constitution envisaging a federal, democratic structure for the country and a parliamentary form of government. This constitution has survived in spite of the breakdown of democracy twice in 1978 and 1999, and hopefully has come to stay. But the delay in framing the constitution harmed the growth of political democracy, as it allowed the authoritarian rule of the Governor-General to continue for seven long years (1947-56), which set this inglorious tradition in the country.

The second obstacle in the way of democracy is the culture of feudalism. Democracy cannot develop in the suffocating atmosphere of feudalism. The history of feudalism in the subcontinent is

not very old. It owes its origin to the war of independence 1857, when different people were awarded large swathes of land by the British government because of their treacherous cooperation with the latter. Those feudal families joined Muslim League when they saw that Pakistan was going to be a reality and inherited power after the death of founding father. Feudalism has now become a severe migraine for the nation. Democracy and feudalism are incompatible. Change of faces at the wheel has not served any purpose. Even these fuedal lords occupy more than 70 % of our land leaving the people to lead miserable life. They are senators, ministers, MPAs, MNAs and also the owners of major industries in Pakistan. There is a crying need to bring some structural changes in order to strengthen the political system. Industrialization has also played a significant role in the strengthening of democracy across the world. Great Britain is considered as the mother of democracies on this planet. Some analysts are of the view that democracy has its origin from Magna Carta, Bill of Rights and Habeas Corpus etc. But even after these developments very mighty rulers have ruled Great Britain. In fact the invention of steam engine led towards industrial revolution which eradicated the roots of feudalism and evil of absolute monarchy. All this resulted in the development of democracy. In Pakistan there is everything from adult franchise to separation of powers between the three organs of government but no plan for that kind of industrial revolution.

Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the father of the nation and the first Governor-General, died just one year after the establishment of Pakistan on September 11, 1948 and his right hand lieutenant Liaquat Ali Khan, who was the first Prime Minister, was assassinated on October 16, 1951. About the capability of other leaders of Pakistan Muslim League (PML), the party which had successfully piloted the movement for Pakistan, Jinnah had ruefully remarked that "he had false coins in his pocket". Consequently, several ministers appointed initially were not politicians and did not have a seat in the Assembly. Similarly, in 1954, there were several members of Prime Minister's cabinet without a seat in the Parliament. "The cabinet and other high political appointments reflected a paucity of talent among the politicians."

It is indeed a sad commentary on the elected members of the first Legislature and Constituent Assembly of Pakistan that they could not find a suitable head of state from among their own ranks. Most of them came from the civil bureaucracy or the military. The civil-military bureaucracy did not have a favourable opinion about the competence of political leaders and often took decisions without consulting them. This adversely affected their political training, development and growth. The inability to control the Anti-Ahmadiya Movement in the Punjab in 1953 was blamed on an inept political leadership. This religious movement was spearheaded by the religious Ahrar Party which had opposed the establishment of Pakistan and now wanted again to come into limelight. They were supported by other religious parties, i.e., Jamaat-i-Islami, JamiatulUlema-i-Pakistan, and Jamiatul-Ulema-i-Islam. The movement was exploited by politicians in their own political interest. But the civil-military bureaucracy was against the religious parties to dominate the power structure either in the provinces or the centre. To rescue the city of Lahore where Ahmadis were in a "virtual state of siege" and their properties were being "burned or looted", General Azam Khan, the Area Commander, was ordered by the Defense Secretary, to impose martial law in Lahore. It was met with general approval of the people. It was demonstrated that the civil-military bureaucracy "would not let politicians or religious ideologues lead the country to anarchy". This also laid down the foundations of the supremacy of military and orchestrated the initial rehearsal for recurring imposition of Martial Law in the country and its acceptance by the people.

Lack of education has remained an important impediment to the democratization of countries. This is not just a problem of Pakistan but of the whole Third world. Laski, a famous political thinker, said that education is the backbone of democracy. Democracy is a system of governance in which the

people choose their representatives through elections. Their strength lies in the ballot box. If people are not vigilant and educated enough to make a better choice, the democracy will not flourish in that country. This is the main reason that even in the countries apparently practising democracy but with majority of uneducated people are among the under-developed nations. Masses in Pakistan have not found ways of compelling their rulers to be mindful of their duty. Their failures in this regard results from insufficiency of experience and training in operating modern democratic politics. Democracy puts the highest premium on constitutionalism, which is possible only with the predominant majority of people. Pakistan's democracy can neither improve nor become viable as long as the majority of population remains uneducated.

Judiciary is one of the most important pillars of a state and a country where judiciary is not imparting justice, democracy cannot develop. During Second World War someone asked British Prime Minister Winston Churchill whether the British would win the war. The Prime Minister laughed and replied that if the British courts were dispensing justice, no one would trounce the United Kingdom. In Pakistan since 1954 judiciary has remained docile to the wishes of executive . As Shelley says, "If the winter comes; can spring be far behind"

In fact, since its birth, Pakistan has been governed by bureaucratic, military and political elites. The bureaucratic elite generally became more assertive, steadily increasing their power at the expense of the political elite. Ayub's term of office [1958-69] was the golden era for the bureaucracy, which exercised its powers, unbridled by any political interference. The weakness of political elites can be demonstrated from the fact that during seven years from 1951 to 1958, as many as seven Prime Ministers had been changed. During 1988-1999, four democratically elected governments were replaced on charges of corruption, inefficiency, security risk, etc. The civil-military bureaucracy has dominated governance owing to the inherent weakness of the political parties and their incompetent leadership, resulting in the derailment of democracy thrice in the history of Pakistan, i.e., in 1958, 1977 and 1999.

Pakistan was not created as a theocracy but as a place where an economically marginalized minority could operate a democracy independently. It was to save the people from religious discrimination and domination by an overwhelming religious majority. Moreover, it emerged as a territorial state in the Muslim majority areas of the subcontinent. But the religious and secular groups soon started making conflicting demands while formulating the constitution of Pakistan. The speech of Mr Jinnah of August 11, 1947, addressed to the first legislative and constituent assembly of Pakistan, had advocated political pluralism and declared that the "religion or caste or creed has nothing to do with the business of the State". This was not adhered to. The Objectives Resolution passed by the Constituent Assembly in 1949, pacified demands of Muslim religious parties and elements, but was not supported by religious minorities. The compromise solution attempted to balance the values and the spirit of Islam with requirements of secularism. Due to lack of competent and visionary political leadership, and the fact that Muslims constituted 98 per cent of the population, the conservative religious leaders, partly due to their conviction and partly owing to their parochial interests, advocated and preached the establishment of a religio-political system based on Al-Quran and Sunnah. They were skeptical of the politico-social development of modern times and western political institutions and form of government. Their dogmatic theology clashed with the democratic culture envisioned by the founding fathers. Another adverse impact of the adoption of religion as a guiding principle in the constitution, was the promotion of religious sectarianism, especially between the two major sects inhabiting Pakistan, i.e., Sunnis and Shi'as. Some sections of these sects, instead of peaceful negotiations to overcome their differences, often resort to violence, which is against the

spirit of both Islam and democracy. These rivalries fostered reliance on the security forces for maintenance of law and order, which eroded the hold of democratic institutions in governance.

For any healthy constitutional and political system to function smoothly, strong and well-entrenched political parties are essential. Unfortunately, political parties in Pakistan have failed to develop into strong vehicles of national political will. The main responsibility for safeguarding democracy in a country falls on political parties. Pakistan, since its inception, was lacking in well organized and well established political parties that could carry the representative system of governance forward. The All-India Muslim League, which had piloted the movement of Pakistan during 1940-47, was not a well organized political party, but it was primarily a movement. Leading a movement and organizing a political party are two different things. Most of its leaders belonged to areas which became part of the Indian Union and their majority did not come to Pakistan. Of those who were in Pakistan, barring a few exceptions, belonged to feudal and landowning classes that in their nature were in conflict with democratic dispensation. In fact "the leadership of Pakistan movement had few roots in the land that became Pakistan." Their incompetence and constant wrangling for power in the initial nine years (1947-1956) was also responsible for the delay in constitution-making. Instead of cooperation and mutual accommodation there was ceaseless infighting. For instance, as early as 1953, a clash between the leadership of the Punjab and the central government led to intense communal riots and imposition of Martial Law in Lahore, the provincial capital. Even as late as the decade of 1988-99 of civil supremacy, the fight between the PML and the PPP led to repeated dissolution of national and provincial assemblies and dismissal of prime ministers and their cabinets. Finally, it ended with the military takeover in 1999.

The representative character of the civilian parliamentary government during the first decade of Pakistan's existence was eroded because the country was governed under Government of India Act of 1935. The purpose of the Act was "to make the appointed governor-general exert dominance over the elected prime minister." The Act had introduced a representative and a centralized system of bureaucratic governance, which was an imperative requirement of the colonial government but not of democratic governance. The first general elections in the country should have been held in 1951, i.e., five years after the previous elections in 1946, but this could not happen till 1970. The reasons for the delay were that the ruling elite, i.e., civil bureaucrats, migrant political leadership, and weak political parties, had few roots in the masses. As a consequence, general elections could not be held for 23 years (1947-1970) of the country's initial history. On the expiry of the five years term of Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (1972-1977), the second general elections on the basis of adult franchise were held on March 7, 1977 which the PPP won with a vast majority. The opposition parties alleged that the elections had been "rigged on a massive scale". It has been commented: Elections in Pakistan had been rigged before, notably the presidential election in 1965 and the Provincial Assembly elections in early 1950s, but rigging in these instances did not arouse the mass uprising as it did in 1977. The people of Pakistan were evidently not of the same mind now as they were in those earlier periods.

Corruption in bureaucracy and among political leaders poses a grave threat to good democratic governance. Quaid-i-Azam had termed corruption as "poison" and asked to put that down with an "iron hand". Now that the National Reconciliation Ordinance, which had withdrawn from prosecution any person "falsely involved for political reasons or through political victimization" between 1986 and 1999, has lapsed onNovember 28, 2009, the concerned individuals should get themselves cleared in a court of law in a transparent manner. The tribal nature of society in Pakistan is susceptible to nepotism. As an antidote, accountability and transparency are necessary. It is a challenge to the people to reject those leaders and political parties which indulge in corruption and nepotism.

One of the main bottlenecks in the constitutional development in Pakistan was that its two wings were separated by about 1000 miles of hostile territory. The eastern wing consisted of one province but was more populous than the western wing which was much larger in area and had as many as four provinces. The western wing was not prepared to concede majority representation to the eastern wing in the parliament. After a confrontation of nine years between the two wings, the solution was evolved in the 1956 constitution in the shape of parity of representation in a quasi-federal structure, neutralizing the majority of the eastern wing and paving the way for the manipulated domination of the western wing. The domination of the western wing in governance led to an insurgency in the eastern wing which culminated in the separation and independence of Bangladesh in 1971. In the post-1971 Pakistan, it came to be realized that ideological moorings alone could not easily overcome ethnic and economic differences. Yet the anti-ethnic attitude and anti-modern thinking prevalent in certain segments of society lean towards a unitary or quasifederal state as against a true federation.

The latest threat is emanating from extremism and terrorism, especially in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) and Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA). This is the spill over effect of the conflict in Afghanistan and is spreading in Pakistan. It is likely to continue as long as there is no peace and stability in that country. However, the military enjoying the support of the nation is successfully combating against the extremists and terrorists under the supremacy of the civilian democratic government. It is hoped that the process would continue to its logical conclusion.

Due to the migration of literate Hindus and Sikhs to India, the literacy rate in Pakistan sharply declined. There was about 95 percent illiteracy in Pakistan in 1947, which acted as a hindrance to the growth of a civil and democratic society. Feudalism and economic constraint did not permit any Pakistani government to launch a "crash course to expand literacy and grow higher standards.

National economy has gone bankrupt and national budget has become all foreign aid dependent. Islam was the ideology that gave life to Pakistan movement and later Pakistan itself, but is now infested with sectarianism. Military policies gifted the country with cross border terrorism and three million internally displaced people. Despite having the largest chunk of the national budget and being the seventh largest army of the world, Pakistan army is now in a mess of its own creation with little of its hard earned prestige left to its credit.

The distorted face of the national system as a whole and the failure of judiciary to guard the constitution of Pakistan are the major factors contributing to the change in national mindset. The events of the last two years have clearly shown the preference of the people of Pakistan. The masses want democracy as a political and governing system for the country and a judiciary that guard the rights of the people. The military would be respected more if it stays in the barracks or guards the national borders. The murder of Benazir Bhutto has taught new lessons.

If one compares Pakistani democracy with the Western democ[illegible] it is said that for over 50 years, Pakistan remains occupied by three major interest groups sharing the time, opportunities and resources of the besieged nation. The army, civil service and the neo-colonial appointed landlords. If there was any rational tolerance scale, Pakistani nation would certainly secure high marks on its standard of tolerance and survival under most unfavorable circumstances.

One of the pivotal factors supporting the notion of Western liberal democracies is that it provides opportunities for participation to ordinary citizens, right or wrong to culminate a sense of *legitimacy for the* election exercise and chose people of their interest to manage public affairs for a specified term. But the principles and standards for evil and good vary between the West and the Islamic world. Strange as is, in Pakistan, those who come to occupy the political offices never intend

to quit the political power on their own except implication of military force through a coup. Comparatively, on occasions western democracies do encourage educated and competent citizens to strive for their high ideas and ideals and come to the front stage and demonstrate their intentions and will power to seek the goal of ideal public service agendas. E.H. Carr defines teaching-learning role of history and its value must not be ignored but preserved. Recall the Pakistani military dictators for the last forty plus years, they each consumed a decade or more to relinquish power, what was not theirs in any systematic and logical context. Ayub Khan was ousted by Yahya Khan. General Yahya with the complacency of Z.A. Bhutto surrendered East Pakistan to India (now Bangladesh) to share power with Bhutto but was put under house arrest as Bhutto assumed the power that did not belong to him based on the verdict of the people. Rightfully, it was Sheikh MujiburRehman, leader of the East Pakistan Awami League who should have been sworn-in as the new leader of united Pakistan but it was treacherously undone by Yahya and Bhutto. Both should have been tried as traitors in a court of law and punished. Not so, they were rewarded and Bhutto became the first civilian martial law administrator and self-made president of the defeated Pakistan in December 1971. Dr.Ishtiaq Qureshi, editor of the Urdu Digest recorded it for the history ("Sukoot-e-Dacca seyPurdhautha Hay"- Facts are revealed after the Dacca Surrender) that "...in quest for its survival Pakistan lost its destiny. YahyA and Mujib stabbed the body of Pakistan with one dagger and Bhutto will stab Pakistan with another dagger."

Following are the suggestions for improving democracy in Pakistan.

An impartial system of accountability enhances public trust on the political system. It provides enormous strength to democratic process. Moreover, it compels thousand who are charged with governance, to transparently discharge their official responsibilities. It ensures good governance and strengthens the political set up. Inspite of facing innumerable challenges and showing unsatisfactory performance, Pakistanis has the capability to emerge as a democratic and progressive nation. Pakistan can road to democracy with dedication, determination, commitment, courage and patriotism of its political leaders.

Reforming the judiciary and incorporating the Islamic laws can also soothe the deprived and poor masses which have been manipulated by the extremists due to sheer negligence of the elected governments and ruling elite. This naturally causes bitterness for the present form of political setup.

Moving on, corruption and selfish attitudes is eating away the institutional structure of our country and such practices never allow democracy to flourish. There is also a need for mature political leadership, which can think above its own gains. All this can only emerge after the formulation and implementation of strict accountability.

On the contrary, the weak public institutions can be made strong and productive if the power and authority seeps down. The example of many European countries is in front of us, where institutions are powerful and not the politicians. Democracy in actuality can only be achieved through such measures.

Our constitution has been a source of constant controversy. Be it realization of Islamic laws or the concentration of power in the head of the state, the constitution has served as a tool for legitimization of alien changes and policies. Keeping the constitution intact has been long overdue. No one in power should be allowed to change it for prolongation of rule or appeasing any particular section.

The Pakistan movement envisaged a democratic country with a federal structure. In all Constitutions of Pakistan (of 1956, 1962 and 1973) the objectives of governance, in the words of Dr. Ainslie T. Embree, Professor Emeritus of Columbia University, are: democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice as enunciated by Islam, giving Muslims freedom to live their

lives in accordance with the teachings of Islam, but with minorities having full freedom to profess their own religions.

Islam lays emphasis on the concept of Shura, i.e., consultation among people, which is the essence of democratic culture. Quaid-i-Azam, the founder of Pakistan had stated:

> *"We learned democracy 1300 years ago. Democracy is in our blood. It is in our marrows. Only centuries of adverse circumstances have made the circulation of that blood cold. It has got frozen, and our arteries are not functioning. But thank God, the blood is circulating again, thanks to the Muslim League efforts. It will be a People's government. Culturally, in the region of Pakistan, there is a concept of Jirga or Panchayat, i.e., an assembly of elders, to settle issues and disputes involving two or more than two persons. This system has been prevalent for ages, much before the advent of Islam. Thus, both religion and age-old tradition advocate the concept of consultation in decision-making through an assembly of people, which is the essence of democracy."*

During the period of British supremacy in the subcontinent, the practice of elections to assemblies (local, provincial and central) was introduced through various enactments. Finally, it was the Government of India Act 1935 under which the dominions of India and Pakistan functioned after independence till they framed their own constitutions. These enactments provided the groundwork for democratic governance. It may be of interest to note that even when democratic rule was suspended by the armed forces, the military rulers always came with the promise to restore democratic governance. For instance, in 1970, General Yahya Khan is credited with organising the first ever general elections in the country, which led to the establishment of democratic governments both in Bangladesh and Pakistan. Besides holding of general elections in 2002 and 2007, General Musharraf's introduction of local government system introduced in 2001 is considered a "laudable model of governance" because of its principle that whatever can be done at the local level should not be done at a higher tier of governance.

The country is on the path to achieve full literacy and progress towards higher standard of education in important disciplines. This is strengthening the civil society in ensuring the prevalence of democratic culture at the lower and higher level of governance. Secondly, the print and electronic media in Pakistan is vibrant and independent. A responsible media educates the masses, raises political consciousness and thus promotes democratic values, norms and culture. In addition, a number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are playing an active role in the field of education and contributing to the growth of a vibrant civil society and good governance.

The essential step seems to stop interruption in the democratic process so that we may see more then promos. To judge something, it has to be allowed a chance to survive and act. The elected government must be allowed to complete its tenure in any case. The military has to play a positive role here and not interfere in the smooth democratic process.

As mentioned before, a part of the population wants greater Islamic character in the Govt. and laws. If we analyze this demand, it will be apparent that the enforcement of Sharia is more related to law making. Therefore, what is immediately required is a change in the judicial setup, which has been unable to gain the trust of people until recently. Encouraging steps have already started in this case, but much more needs to be one.

Sadly, the same corrupted pool of thought keeps appearing with new faces and the deceived masses blindly follow them. This is due to absence of any kind of accountability. Political compromises enhance this trend. Such practices are against the moral, democratic as well as Islamic principles and should end immediately.

Next, the all powerful bureaucracy and feudal politicians should be stripped of their unwarranted authority. It has been a slow evil which has weakened the country like nothing else. They are elected for serving people not controlling them. The criteria of merit; thc right of freedom and equal progress for common people has become a joke due to such an autocratic setup.

The people of Pakistan in general lack political psyche and consciousness. This is largely due to poor literacy and a never ending feudalistic rule over 60% of the country. Therefore, it is necessary to educate the masses and make them aware of their political rights. This can begin with greater political socialization by political parties and media.

In a democratic state, media has rightly been called the fourth pillar of the state. It can play a most important role in present age for creating awareness. Our media has risen from the ashes like a phoenix. It however, needs to play a positive constructive role and not become another compromised institution as well.

Finally, the strategic position and now the war against terror calls forth unwanted attention from international community sometimes. In the past, the military rule has been covertly or openly supported by many countries to gain their own benefits in this region. The international powers must stop interfering in the democratic process and for that to happen, our own government, people and media needs to be equally strong.

The politicians may have learnt lessons from their past mistakes and are more mature politically. A consensus politics seem to be emerging in the country. In the past, the constant infighting amongst political parties had often led to interference and take-over by the armed forces. Now a culture of reconciliation, accommodation and dialogue is emerging. The ideological polarization is diminishing. After general elections of February 2008, four major political parties, i.e., Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), PML – Nawaz (PML-N), Awami National Party (ANP), Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Islam – Fazalur Rahman (JUI-F) and MuttahidaQaumi Movement (MQM) have joined hands to govern the country andre-establish the supremacy of the Parliament in accordance with the Constitution of 1973.

Our youth constitute 30% of the society they are representative of new generation. Their participation may ensure structural improvements in national paradigm. It has been witnessed that during Pakisan movement youth played vital role in opinion formation and mass awareness and so is the time now. Therc is a need to guide our youth to take the responsibility of our tomorrow.

To sum up, it is the political leadership which can ensure permanence to democratic governance. The prospects are, however, not as dismal as sometimes portrayed. Already, the literacy rate in Pakistan has increased to more than fifty five per cent. Efforts are afoot to improve the standard of higher education. The economic growth and industrialization has given birth to a vocal urban society and middle class, which is growing, and gradually lessening the influence of the feudal class. The vibrant electronic and print media is playing an effective role in constructive criticism of the government and in educating the masses. Elections are being held regularly, representative political leadership and political parties are getting stronger and a peaceful mode of transfer of power is becoming the norm. The bureaucracy (both civil and military), though still powerful, may retreat gradually and submit to the peoples' power and will and concede to democratic governance. The democratic process is progressing and, hopefully, will not be obstructed and derailed, as in the past.

EXPECTED QUESTIONS:

- **Why has democracy failed in Pakistan?**
- **What practical measure do you suggest for strengthening of democracy in Pakistan?**

WAR ON TERROR/ TERRORISM

OUTLINE

- ❑ Introduction
- ❑ Meaning and definition
- ❑ The new connotation of terrorism
- ❑ Historical background of terrorism
- ❑ Causes of terrorism
  - Helplessness and hopelessness
  - Political and economic deprivation
  - Influence of communist regimes
  - Poverty and economic exploitation
  - Easy access to weapons and modern technology
  - Sheer success of terrorism
  - Lack of democracy and dictatorship
  - Religious extremism
  - Biological and social elements
- ❑ Types of terrorism
  - Revolutionary terrorism
  - Sub revolutionary terrorism
  - Establishment terrorism
  - Nationalist terrorism
  - Religious terrorism
  - State-sponsored terrorism
  - Inter-state or International terrorism
  - Group terrorism
- ❑ Russian invasion Afghanistan
- ❑ 9/11 and Pakistan
- ❑ Terrorism and Islam: some misconceptions
- ❑ Psycho-social effects of terrorism
- ❑ Role of civil society in combating terrorism
- ❑ War on terror and its impacts on Pakistan
  - Political impact
  - Sovereignty impact
  - Economic impact
  - Religious impact
  - Image impact
  - Psychological impact
  - Social impact
- ❑ Solutions for ironing out terrorism
- ❑ Conclusion

ESSAY

Terror, terrorists, and terrorism are more frequently burning issues of the media. In the present time, world is confronting terrorism in different manifestations. After 9/11 the phenomenon of terrorism has drastically changed the socio-economic and geo-political scenario of the world. It has shaken the social fabric and world peace. Terrorism is the result of extremism which results in different forms of manifestation of violence. The ultimate sufferers of the terrorism are the innocent masses who have actually nothing to do with the complicated new world order. Terrorism is a tree and extremism provides balance food to grow the tree properly. Different accused groups allegedly involved in terrorism are the branches of this tree. Terrorism is the social evil and problem of today. It is the materialization of the violence which has been an integral part of human history. Human beings have witnessed several furious wars and massacres in almost every civilization and every part of the world throughout the ages till today. The phenomenon of the terrorism has occurred due to socioeconomic injustice, political disparity and quest of selfish individuals and groups to retain the power for their vested interests. No doubt, terrorism upsets humanity on the whole and creates unrest in the society.

It is difficult to tell the meaning of terrorism but it can be briefly said that the terrorism is state of mind rather than activity. To find the meaning of terrorism it is relevant to look at the etymology of the word violence which is strongly inter-connected with word terrorism. The term violence is derived from Latin violaer that means to violate or to go against the socially accepted norms or to misuse it. Similarly terrorism means to impose one's own interpretations of religious teachings, socio-cultural, and politico-economic values and norms through violence in the society. Very briefly terrorism means the physical and mental process of terrifying individual and certain groups of society through the element of violence. Academically, it is the most difficult task to define the terrorism as a minimum acceptable term. Sociologists, criminologists and political scientists are trying their best to reach on the minimum acceptable definition but due to the great complexity of the phenomenon and situations there are lot of work to be done

In simple words terrorism is the state of fear created through the act of violence. The common understanding about the terrorism is that "Terrorism is an organized system of intimidation, especially for political ends". Different stakeholders such as terrorist groups, states and social scientists have arch differences over the definition of the terrorism depending on the complexity of the circumstances. There is a great controversy over how to term various freedom movements as a liberation struggle or terrorists' movements. An act of certain group is a fight for freedom for some people and terrorism for others. This phenomenon makes it difficult to agree on exact meaning and definition of the terrorism. Every one explains the terrorism according to his/her certain connotation and vested interests. Some definitions and versions of terrorism are mentioned below to understand the phenomenon more profoundly.

Charles Townshend (2002) describes the US and British version of terrorism in his book entitled "Terrorism a very short Introduction" as "The terrorism is the calculated use or threat of violence to inculcate fear, intended to coerce or intimidate governments or societies". Terrorism is the language of being noticed (Delillo, 1992). According to the Dictionary of Social Sciences "Terrorism refers to the illegitimate use of force by those who appose existing social, political or economic arrangements".

Present day the concept of terrorism is based on duplicity- the trend slogan is that "on man's terrorism is another person's freedom fight". Freedom fighters of Kashmir are terrorists for India and USA while the forefathers of the Americans, who won freedom from England with armed assistance of France, are considered to be liberators. Similarly, Israelis and Palestinians have been impeaching each other for terrorist activities. Modern "Terrorism" word was coined by US when they threatened Imam Khomeni's government to be labeled as terrorist if they did not release American consulate members, who had been kept as hostages after Iranian revolution in 1979. The new terrorism emerged in the 1980s from more traditional forms of political conflict in the strands of strident Muslims terrorism began to appear that was unrelated to the Palestinian or any other definable political cause. In Egypt President Anawar Sadat Waqs assassinated by religious extremists and Hezbollah suicide bombers in Lebanon targeted symbols of American military power. By the mid-1990s religious –based terrorism aimed at the general population as well as at symbols of government power exploded throughout the world. Activists from virtually every religious tradition were involved not only Islamic suicide bombers in the Middle East but also Christian militants in the United States, Jewish assassins in Israel, a terrorist Buddhist sect in Japan, the Tamils in Sri Lanka and radical Sikhs and Hindus in India.

History of terrorism is as old as the human civilization. To overview the history of terrorism one will have to depend upon the history of violence that was given a new name in French revolution. In ancient times terrorism manifested in the form of individual and tribal riots. Later the small states faced terrorist attacks by the bigger states as a foreign aggression. Human history has witnessed countless furious wars in which million of people were massacred in dreadful terrorist acts. The series of human subjugation is still visible even in 21st century. The violence which has been present in the human history throughout the ages has been given new name terrorism after French Revolution in 1779. We see in the history that Alexander the great and other warriors continuously killed millions of people that can also be termed as the terrorists of ancient human history. The Roman Empire also contested several dangerous wars to establish their kingdom in the world. Even the people of God continued to fight with each other in the name of religion. Those wars also resulted in the killing of thousand of innocents just for the quest of power.

The earlier organization that exhibited aspects of modern terrorist organization was the Zealots of Judea, known to the Roman as sicarii, or dagger-men. They carried on an underground campaign of assassination of Roman occupation forces, as well as any Jews they felt had collaborated with the Romans. In ancient India many wars were fought among different groups or tribes. The European nations also fought wars with each other resulting in the deaths of several innocent people. The French Revolutionary Governments coined the word terrorism by instituting systematic state terror against the population of French in the 1790s, killing thousands of people.

In 20th Century the world witnessed World War I and II as big showdowns of terrorism to achieve the goals of superpower. Later the incident of atomic bombardment on Japan and human conflict in Vietnam are big human destruction which shakes the conscious of the mankind. In the last decade of 20th Century the phenomenon of terrorism continued to occur in the world more prominently after the end of cold war. The incidents of spetember11 and July 7 are the height of terrorist acts. It shaped the world in the new directions. In modern times we have seen the horrible wars in Persian Gulf, Middle East and Africa in which the violence was used to terrorize the opponent. The war between Iraq and Iran, Kuwait and Iraq and deadly killings in Rwanda, Zaire and Congo are the worst recent examples of terrorism. Even these days in many countries of the world the proxy and guerrilla wars are harming and killing innocent and irrelevant people.

In short, it can be firmly said that terrorism was present throughout the human history but since few decades it has been given a new dimension. This phenomenon should always be seen in historical perspective to understand the issue properly.

Following are the causes of terrorism:

To understand and solve the problem of terrorism it is essential for all to realize and identify the causes of terrorism. The terrorism is a complex phenomenon which has several reasons such as social, economic, religious and political etc. all these factors contribute in the enhancement and flourishing the terrorist activities. This global phenomenon has various causes and some of them are being spelled out briefly for the better understanding of the issue. This is also notable that the causes of terrorism may be different in various societies due to its religious, ethnic and political nature.

Helplessness which leads to hopelessness is the psychological state that enhances terrorism in the society. The society in which the people are ignored and have to suffer from socioeconomic and political injustice provides conducive environment to promote terrorism. When the people and their problem are neglected or kept aloof they ultimately express their resentment in the form of violent behaviour to attract the attention of the state and the people. We can witness that in the long standing political disputes such as Palestine and Kashmir etc where the aspirations of the people were not heeded some of them started militant movements. Similarly, in communist regimes where the people were not given their socio-political rights they brought about even deadly revolution.

Political and Economic deprivations are the main root causes of terrorism. When the political and economic rights of the certain groups are not granted it chooses the suitable method of terrorism to show their anger. This deprivation encourages the effected groups to adopt the violent ways to get their aspirations fulfilled. For example we can see that in northern states of India such as Assam, Nagaland, and West Bengal etc. the communists started gorilla war against the Indian Government. Charles Kegley while discussing the contemporary terrorism presents a root cause school of thought which asserts that political and economic deprivation are the main causes of terrorism. He views the advocates of "Root Causes Theory" propel that "politically oppressed and economically deprived people are more prone to violent and terrorist behavior. They are deprived of their basic needs and this condition forces them to change their fate by hook or crook.

At the end of cold war the influence of communist regimes inspired by Marxist and Leninist theories made a cause of escalation of terrorism in the world. Being influenced by such regimes many freedom movements adopted violence. We see in Nepal, Bhutan and Sri Lanka communists and Tamales started violent movements in the last to decades of twentieth century for their freedom.

In the society where there is illiteracy, hunger and economic disparity the terrorism flourishes rapidly. All these factors lead to increase in poverty which itself is the mother of terrorism. Famous philosopher Aristotle had agreed on the assertion stating that "Poverty is mother of Terrorism and Revolution". We see for example in Muslim countries there is a huge amount of poverty and that is why, it becomes easier for the terrorist groups to find the interested persons due to their poor economic conditions.

Due to incredible advancement in weapons technology and human knowledge it has become easy for the terrorists to get them easily. Hugh quantity of information about the arms manufacturing has been spread by internet which has made the access of the terrorists easy and they use weapons to get quick results the act of terrorism.

Terrorism is a short cut tactic for the terrorists to achieve their goals quickly. It is more result orientated rather than peaceful movement. That is why the terrorist groups adopt this for getting more

results in shorter time. Easy access to weapons and widespread information of the arms technology is the cause of escalation of terrorism in modern times.

Lack of Democracy is the main cause of terrorism in present times. The dictators and autocrat governments frighten opponents. They do it to create the fear among the masses to suppress any opposition against their governments. In undemocratic circumstances the people do not find ways to express their disagreement and as a result some of them turn to the violent means to submit their expression. We can see in many autocrat and communist states in Latin America and Africa the massive force was used against the political opponents.

There is a school of thought which considers that the religious extremism is the major cause of terrorism. Mark Juergensmeyer says that "The religion is crucial for these acts since it gives moral justifications for the killing and provides images of cosmic war that allows activists to believe that they are waging spiritual scenarios" (Zafar, 2007:31). It does not mean that the religion causes terrorism but it does mean that the religion often provides symbols that make possible bloodshed even catastrophic acts of terrorism. As evidence we can observe that the majority of the terrorist movements are inspired by the religion or at-least it is claimed.

Other than above mentioned causes sociologists have another point of view. A man is violent by nature. The sociologists present three hypotheses biological instinctual, social learning, and frustration aggression. Sigmund Freud's says that "Man is embodied with an instinctive urge and appetite of attacking and subjugating others" (Zafar, 2007). It means that naturally human beings try to divert towards violence and terrorism b0y nature. The second point is that the social learning of the person also convinces him/her towards terrorism. If one grows and develops in the oppressed society one can be easily attracted towards violence and terrorism.

Other than above discussion the causes of terrorism in the context of Pakistan were highlighted by the Gen. Pervez Musharraf, President of Pakistan. He, while addressing in international seminar on Global Terrorism on August 29-2007 organized by institute of Regional studies (IRS) Islamabad pinpointed some noteworthy causes of terrorism in Pakistani and global perspective. He described following causes which deserve due attention by the international community.

Political deprivation and alienation are an arch cause of terrorism. This leads to hopelessness. The sense of powerlessness, which then leads to these terrorist acts.

Lack of education and poverty are equally responsible for the increasing in terrorist activities. The illiterate are wrongly given the hope to go directly in to the heaven if he/she commits terrorist act for God or religion. Thus, in circumstance where there is lack of education and poverty it becomes easier for the master minds of the terrorist groups to launch the offences at the cost of the socio-economic compulsion and ignorance of the poor masses.

President Gen. Pervez Musharraf has rightly indicated that the wrong understanding and misinterpretation of the religion is the important cause of terrorism. He asserts that in Pakistan there are many clerics who have limited knowledge of the teachings and values of the Islam. They misguide the people for their vested interests in the name of religion.

Religious terrorism comes from many major faiths, as well as from small cults. This type of terrorism is growing rapidly and is discussed widely on the international media. Religious terrorists seek to use violence to further what they see as divinely commanded purposes, often targeting broad categories of foes in an attempt to bring about sweeping changes.

State-sponsored terrorism is one of the most controversial types of terrorism. In this category the state uses hidden groups to suppress anti state or anti government elements in the country. State-

sponsored terrorist groups are deliberately used by radical states as foreign policy tools—as Hoffman puts it, as "a cost-effective way of waging war covertly, through the use of surrogate warriors or 'guns for hire". State sponsored terrorism is normally executed by autocratic to suppress the political opponents. The state sponsor terrorist groups are more effective, efficient and active rather than any group because of having moral, political and logistic support of the government or state.

Although the acts of terrorism are visible everywhere in the world, but Pakistan is facing the phenomenon of terrorism directly and severely as a social problem. Pakistan is the front line state among international community and consequently the people and state of Pakistan are facing the outrage of the terrorists. It is the second state in the world which was created on the basis of religious ideology along with Israel.

The estimated population of Pakistan is almost 19m out of which 96.72% are Muslims whereas the rest of the population consists of different religious minority groups including Christians, and Hindus etc. The territory of the Pakistan is the part of rich civilization of Indus and 'Ghandhara Civilization'. Since its independence, Pakistan has remained in the focus of attention of world powers to gain their politico economic interests. Pakistan was created for the oppressed people of sub-continent. It started its journey of socio-economic and political development according to the aspiration of its creators.

Although there remained political instability and manifold problems, it emerged quickly as a strong country. The society of Pakistan was considered to be the most peaceful society, but since 1979 after the Russian invasion in Afghanistan the society saw great twist in the social fabric and politico economic system. The world super powers encouraged the militant organizations to promote the culture of Jihad to defeat Russia. The world powers provided their huge support to the government of Pakistan and related militant organizations in the form of money, weapons and politico moral support. In eighties, Pakistan became fertile land for the militant groups where extremist mentality was promoted both by the government and other stake holders to attract the youth to fight against the Russian forces. The government of late Zia-ul-Haq, president of Pakistan (1977-1988) and related subgroups continued to enjoy the blessing of the world powers but soon after the evacuation of Russia from Afghanistan these militant groups scattered. The international community pulled back its support from these militant organizations and their agenda was completely changed. These groups which were very resourceful in terms of money, weapons and religo-political influence in the region started to fight against each other.

During the afghan war the huge quantity of arms and ammunition came and stored in Pakistan which was later used by these groups in sectarian tribal and political violence. Meanwhile, political instability, corruption, social injustice and economic disparity added fuel on fire in giving rise to different forms of manifestation of terrorism. With the collapse of Russia from the world order the geo-political situation of Pakistan changed. In this changed scenario the terrorism strongly gripped and swiftly spread in Pakistani society. Its most visible manifestation was sectarianism in 1990s triggered by religious extremism.

After 9/11 Pakistan once again became the front line state in war against terror in international community. Pakistan played its role effectively to curb terrorism and militant groups which increased the acts of terrorism in Pakistan. The terrorism further enhanced intolerance and fear among the masses. These days terrorism is one of the social evils not only for Pakistan but also for all over the world. This is how the phenomenon of terrorism occurred in Pakistan and negatively hit the society as a socio-economic and political problem. The social workers who are considered to be the catalyst for social change are required to think and work on the subject to defuse the fear and effects of terrorism for social well being.

The west is engaged in presenting distorted image of Islam linking all the terrorist activities taking place in any part of the world with it. Like other religions, Islam is the religion of peace, love and harmony. Actually the word "Islam" in addition to meaning submission (to Allah/God), is also derived from the Arabic word Salam (Peace). Islam itself is the religion of peace and promotes love, social justice and human equality. The Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) taught his followers the peaceful co-existence through his teachings and practice. If one wishes to know the teachings of Islam about the terrorism and violence should refer to Holy Quran which is the unchallengeable source of Islamic teachings. After 9/11 and subsequent incidence of terrorism the tendency has increased to label the Muslim community and religion of Islam with terrorism. This is totally a propaganda that has made this world more polarized and disputed. The considerable point is that most of the terrorist groups in the world provide cover of the religion to their terrorist actions. So is the case with the group active in Muslim countries. Moreover, there is no proper understanding of the teachings of Islam and differences among the various sects of Islam over the interpretation of Islamic teachings made it easy for the opponents to assert their views. However, the Holy Quran has clearly condemned and forbidden the killing of innocent people. In Islam, the war is only allowed when it is in self defense. The Holy Quran upholds that death of a single human being is a death of humanity.

The end sufferer of the terrorism is the general public. It is general consensus among the social scientists that human conflict and corruption cannot be done away from the society. The human conflict results in the form of violence or terrorism. The repercussions of the terrorism are very serious for the masses. No doubt, the terrorism not only directly affects economic development and prosperity but the psycho-social repercussions and heavily damage human personality and the society. The effects of terrorism may vary from different persons to different societies. Following are the repercussions that harm individual and society accumulatively.

First of all the terrorism creates sense of fear in the minds of the people. This fear further leads to sense of dissatisfaction and terror among the people.

Due to terrorism the sense of helplessness prevails in the human minds. This sense of helplessness further leads to hopelessness among the people regarding their personal and social well-being.

The violent acts of terrorism badly damage the mental growth of the human beings and put them in a stressful situation. Such attacks especially, leave harmful and far reaching effects on the minds of the children when they see dead bodies and horrible scenes of the terrorism on the media. These days the media gives extra ordinary coverage to the incidents of terrorism all over the world and people find themselves involved very much which creates resentment in their minds.

Being affected by the repercussion of the terrorism the snobbish attitude develops among the masses. It further damages human and familial relationships which ultimately affects the working performance of the individuals.

The constant terrorist acts bring about the reason of losing trust and cohesion of the people on the government and state. It enhances anger and resentment among the masses against the government and the state apparatus.

The people find themselves the victims of psychological diseases such as anxiety and frustration, aggression, and deprivation. This embarrassing situation results in the productivity of the human beings as highly undermined. The social relationships severely suffer from great loss in the presence of these psychological diseases.

Terrorism not only badly impacts on individual but also the whole social system has to suffer the consequences. Due to terrorism social split widens among the people belonging to the different

schools of thought. This split becomes the cause of significant social division which harms the social fabric and unity negatively.

Due to the fear of terrorist attacks the people try to escape from their social and professional responsibilities. For example a soldier cannot perform his duty if he/she has witnessed other companions dying in the deadly terrorist attacks. Of course, one will join his/her duty but due to constant fear of losing the life he/she would perform duty in the state of fear.

Terrorism promotes social segregation and isolation among the different strata of the society. It creates distance between the supporters and suffers of the accused terrorist attacks. That means the terrorism enhances the social disturbance and people feel divided in the society.

Terrorism definitely affects the social progress and well-being of the people. Because of the terrorists activities the businesses and economy of the country suffer which directly lessen the job opportunities. As a result poverty increases which damages the society very much.

In short, terrorism has long lasting effects on the individuals, groups and overall society.

The social prosperity and the well-being of the masses are at the risk and in the situation of constant strain and stress. The human beings find it difficult to live their life properly and calmly. The violent behavior develops among the people who lead to socio-economic decline and destroy the human and social relationships.

First of all, we should denounce terrorism at personal level in our academic activities and general practice of social work. Secondly, it is important for the civil society to rise against the terrorism by raising its voice at local national and international level. The third part is the most important one which demands practical foresight. However, one may think that how one can work practically at individual level to combat terrorism. There are so many ways. We can become a part of socio-religious community organizations which are trying to decrease the causes of terrorism. This can be done at both community and professional level in our vicinity and on workplace. We should also become a part of political system through participation in political process and parties as pressure groups to divert the government's attention to resolve the disputed matters at national and international levels. Civil society organization may advocate with the governments and intergovernmental organizations to resolve the long standing issues at national and international levels. They may also try to advocate with the active terrorist groups to bring them towards the peaceful struggle to solve their problems. Civil society groups and especially social workers can play a vital role by initiating and executing the projects of inter-faith harmony at community, national, and international level. The members of the civil society organizations and groups should volunteer themselves in the activities of community development, peace and interfaith harmony. The civil society groups will have to work hard to get the people realize that the terrorism is the social evil. The civil society groups should work actively for conflict resolution.

On the whole, the civil society groups should work as a catalyst to curb extremism or terrorism. They should endeavor to identify the region specific causes of terrorism through in depth social researches and should work with the masses, terrorist groups and governments to diminish the terrorism from the society.

On the political front, Pakistan was greatly affected in fighting the war against terrorism. While it has taken many valuable steps to defeat terror like the deployment of more than 90,000 troops along the Afghan border, capturing of high rank terrorists, search operations, military operations and official condemnation of all forms and manifestations of terrorism, it has caused bad blood between the rulers and ruled to an extent as well as caused a kind of rift between Pakistan and the Western world. In spite of all the sacrifices the country is making it is branded to be a country insincere or half-hearted in

fighting the menace. Every time the country is told to "do more". It is further alleged for infiltration of the militants inside US-NATO dominated Afghanistan. The failure of the Western troops in the neighborhood is blamed on Pakistan. This situation has eroded the trust between the governments and caused international image problem for the country. Moreover, when recent incident of Bombay carnage and terror act in Iran occurred fingers were pointed at Pakistan. Though political impact of the latter case was defused due to the effective diplomacy between Iran and Pakistan the terrorism act in India stopped the Composite Dialogue between Pakistan and India.

In addition to political and territorial impacts, the economy of the county has also been negatively affected. According to the recent official figures Pakistan has expended 35 billion US dollars since taking on this scourge of terrorism. In the same way, investment opportunities have been reduced due to the volatile law and order situation. To opine that in Pakistan almost all the provinces are not immune from the heinous actions of terrorism, extremism and suicidal bombings would not be wrong. The terrorists and suicidal events that have taken place in Peshawar, Islamabad, Lahore, and Karachi etc. support the opinion. In Punjab, several attacks on the police parade have carried out. In Peshawar, the SoikamoGhawk and Session Courts Gate terrorist's events that left many innocent people dead were recently resorted to. These incidents have brought ill consequences over the face of law and order situation which is discouraging the foreign investment opportunities in the country for the last several years.

The religion has been affected by the war against terrorism. The religion of Islam is perceived to be the one tolerating extremism and terrorism abroad. In the western world, people equate violence, abuse against women and minority rights, and several acts of terrorism like suicidal bombing and coercion with Islam and Muslims. Whenever any such inhuman act takes place they tie it with Islam and its followers. When in the UK terror acts were committed the authority blamed it on Pakistani citizens for instance. And why these days Pakistanis are discriminately interrogated and have to be screened before they inter the US is due to the fact that they are Pakistanis and Muslims.

As in Pakistan acts of terrorism are rife, it has created the image problem for us. Pakistan is considered to be a country not doing enough to eradicate the menace though it has been taking all the possible steps to eradicate it. The country is taken with dubious eye.

Similarly the terror has brought in its wake psychological problems. Fear in the hearts of the people has assumed a substantial form. Trauma, depressions and confusion have been increased. The people feel insecure and unsafe whenever in their daily life activities, as time and again they watch the terror events taking place in different cities. Those have especially been suffered who have closely witnessed the suicidal bombings.

Social impacts have also been caused by this war. In a society, where terror exists can not be healthy. Social disorganization has occurred due to terrorism. Social relations, economic transactions, free moments, getting education, offering prayers etc have suffered.

Moreover, a result-bound mechanism needs to be there to check the foreign anti-Pakistan hands fostering terrorism in the country. Several anti-country secret agencies are uncovered which are active in Balochistan and the tribal belt destabilizing Pakistan. Arms, ammunitions and trainings have been given to the terrorists here. So, steps ought to be taken to check these forces and foil their designs of making our society a hub of terrorist activities.

Besides, a strategy of socio-economic development should be launched in the conflict affected zones like FATA and NWFP. Because poverty, disparity, hopelessness and unemployment have paved the way for terrorism. If they are mainstreamed, the prospects of terrorism would decrease.

Similarly, the US, NATO governments and Pakistan should set together and seek a way out. They should exchange views, expertise and technologies to defeat terrorism in their respective regions. No blame-game should be allowed to shadow the efforts for its eradication. Pakistan has suffered the most in this war in men and material and its role should be appreciated with open heart. Further, state-of-the-art technologies ought to be given to Pakistan military support monetary help given.

Similarly, media should also play its due role. It should run awareness program and debate the negative consequences of terrorism. Those messages should be delivered that discourage the menace.

Judiciary should also fulfill its responsibility to discourage terrorism. Anti-terrorism Courts should dispose of the cases in time.

In fact, terrorism has severely impacted Pakistan in several ways. The state and people have suffered badly. Socio-economically, politically, religiously, psychologically and internationally it has been affected. The country deserves to be a hub of peace and development. Law and order situation should improve. We need to draw effective measures for defeating the forces of terrorism by bringing to the fore its causes. On economic, political, diplomatic, social and strategic fronts all out endeavors should be made to put a halt to terrorism.

EXPECTED QUESTION:

- **Define terrorism and its various definitions and what are its variour types?**
- **Write an essay on War on Terror and how was it started?**
- **Discuss in detail the social, economic and psychological impacts of War on Terror on our society.**

SOCIO ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF PAKISTAN

OUTLINE

- Introduction
  - A problem-free society; desire of every individual
  - Defining social and economic problems
  - Why they are menace?
- Social Problems
  - Poor law and order situation
  - Poverty
  - Illiteracy
  - Corruption
  - Unemployment
  - Child Labour
  - External Challenges
  - Terrorism
  - Enlightened Moderation
  - Domestic Challenges
- Economic Problems
  - Power crises and war on terrorism, root of basic economic problems
  - Loss of MNCs business
  - Tumbling stock market
  - Unprecedented Inflation
  - Declining exports
  - Loss of Foreign Exchange through Tourism Industry
  - Influx of local people from war-ridden areas and their rehabilitation
- Remedies
  - Improved law and order situation
  - Poverty alleviation
  - Stern accountability
  - Building new dams to curb energy crises
- Conclusion

ESSAY

Economic turmoil in Pakistan is due to facets of reasons. The country since its very inception has remained in a vicious cycle of political instability, the lamentable lack of civilian leadership, long military rules and weak institutions. The cumulative implications of the scenario manifest Adhocism, inconsistencies in economic policies, foreign debt and fragile industrial policy. The people of the country have been facing intractable repercussions of economic turn down as increasing poverty, unflinching corruption, and awful conditions of governance. War on terror has further deteriorated economic conditions of Pakistan. The country has got invincible economic losses in the war against terror. The solution of economic problems of Pakistan lies in true democratic order, rule of law, consistent economic policies and the reduction of foreign debt and more investment in the country.

Certain social and economic conditions become a menace for the society when they start asserting negative influence on the society. Usually those social needs which persist in a society a long period of time without being fulfilled owing to restrained budgetary scenarios, turn into socio-economic problems. The major problems of a society are linked with the providence of basic necessities of life to the people making up the society. If the basic needs of man - shelter, food and clothing are not fulfilled, the deprivation of these needs gradually transforms into different forms of social menaces. In the context of Pakistan, owing to the fact that it is a developing nation, there is no wonder that it is engulfed with a number of social and economical problems. The real issue is not the presence of these problems in society because, as stated earlier, there is no concept of an ideal society in the world. Every country in the world has its own set of socio-economic problems. The main issue is the extent and intensity of the socio-economic problems of Pakistan which have soared to alarming levels. Following are socio-economic problems of our country.

Pakistan has been facing a lot of social problems since its inception in 1947. In the start there were the problems of lack of funds, rehabilitation of refugees, poor infrastructure and widespread poverty of masses. Quaid-e-Azam tried his best to solve these problems and get the state machinery working but due to his sudden death, he could not eradicate these problems completely. Subsequent governments didn't pay considerable attention towards solution of various social problems and thus they grew with the passage of time and became social evils.

At present the gravest problem that Pakistan is facing is its precarious law and order condition. Terrorism has become a headache for federation and a nightmare for public. Government has been helpless in eradicating terrorism despite beefing up security in metropolitan cities. Public seeks answer to the question that what is their fault for which they are being punished by the terrorists? People have become numerical figures, blown up in numbers every now and then. Terrorists have not spared any place. Bazars, mosques, educational institutes, offices, hotels are not safe any more.

Besides terrorism, there are other social problems which are older and more widespread. The biggest of these problems is poverty. 70% population of Pakistan lives in villages. Most of them don't have access to adequate basic needs of life. They are struggling for bread and butter. A large chunk of population lives below poverty line. They live in miserable conditions. Lack of proper food, clothing and shelter, poor sanitation, unsafe and sometimes contaminated drinking water are just some of their many problems. Poverty itself gives rise to various other social problems. It deprives children of poor people to access education and healthcare. A sense of deprivation manifests itself in form of various crimes. That is why every now and then we read crime stories in newspapers that are characterized by

lower orders of society who adopt illegal channels to get the financial prosperity which they can not achieve otherwise.

Illiteracy is yet another problem of Pakistan. The literacy rate lingers on 56% and ironically it also includes those people who can read and write their name in Urdu. Over the decades, despite decreasing, illiteracy rate in Pakistan has shown an upward trend. Not only that but also the ratio of students at primary level has shown a decreasing trend. The fact that 50 percent of children do not complete their primary education testifies this fact. Uneducated adults contribute negligibly to the national exchequer. Despite spending millions on it, government has failed to achieve literacy rates comparable to other countries in South Asia. Private sector is doing commendable job for the promotion of educational culture in Pakistan, but its main objective is money-making. Schools and colleges are opened as a business prospect and thus many of them lack quality.

Corruption is another huge social problem. According to latest report of Transparency International, Pakistan has been ranked at 42nd number among the most corrupt nations of the world. From clerical staff to higher offices and bureaucrats, all are involved in corruption of one kind or the other. Corruption in government departments is so much deep-rooted that a common concept prevails that the system doesn't let honest people to work peacefully. There is a lack of accountability due to which wealthy people and those in power are sure that they can't be held responsible for their deeds. So they keep on looting the national treasures and find ways to legalize their black-money. Many corrupt people don't even bother to do that.

Unemployment is also regarded as a major social problem. Major portion of Pakistan's population consists of youth and a large number of young people who have the ability and are willing to work are unemployed. Currently rate of unemployment as per official resources is 7.4% but according to some private estimates the arte of unemployment is 12%. There are many reasons of unemployment like influx of machinery that has replaced manpower, lack of new industries and defective education system. But the impacts of unemployment are more serious and dangerous. People who don't find work here migrate to other countries with better prospects. Also, people tired of making both ends meet due to unemployment indulge in nefarious activities and ratio of crimes increases.

Child labour is widespread in Pakistan. Whether in bigger cities or in small villages, we find innocent malnourished children employed in various forms of labour. They are working as welders, mechanics, plumbers, electricians and in industries like carpet-weaving, glass and football making. Meager wages are paid to these children and no facilities for education are provided. Media and NGOs have always condemned child labour. In past, some countries refused to import those goods from Pakistan in whose making children were employed. But despite all these factors, due to growing inflation and poverty, parents are bound to send their children to work to light their stoves.

These are just few of the many social problems Pakistan is facing today. Population expansion has been a real issue of concern for all governments. With limited resources, it is very difficult to cater to the needs of growing population. There is a great economic disparity among the people. Poor are committing suicides out of hunger while rich are busy amassing more and more wealth. These social problems directly affect the masses. Apart from these, there are several economic problems which have broken the backbone of national treasury.

Externally, Pakistan faced challenges mainly on two counts; the conflict in Afghanistan and the unresolved Kashmir dispute. In the past two decades, we have been victims of terrorism that today poses a major threat worldwide. Domestically, six years ago we inherited an economy in shambles compounded by corruption and misrule. Many in the media had dismissed Pakistan as a failing state. We have turned the corner on all counts.

While the danger of global confrontation has receded with the end of the Cold War, the world remains an insecure place with the persistence of old disputes such as Palestine and Kashmir, new conflicts such as Afghanistan and Iraq and the new threat of terrorism. In neighbouring Afghanistan, the emergence of al-Qaeda and extremist forces owed in a large part to international indifference and neglect that the country suffered following the exit of the Soviet troops. Much could have been salvaged had the international community paid attention and taken timely steps to rebuild Afghanistan. In the globalized and interconnected world, security is indivisible and conflict situations cannot be insulated in today's international environment. 9/11 shook the world that woke up to the new reality of terrorism. Pakistan became a frontline state to fight against this danger. We believe that terrorism must be rejected and countered forcefully as it threatened to disrupt modern societies. We also believe that along with action to eliminate and dismantle terrorist cells, there is need to address the root causes that lie in political disputes and deprivation and poverty that breed extremism.

A parallel danger is implicit in the false notion of clash of civilizations, specifically the West and Islam and tendency to malign the Islamic faith. This dangerous thesis and prejudices must be rejected. Islam is a faith of peace, tolerance and compassion. Islamic societies have been traditionally moderate. They have coexisted with other societies peacefully and have accommodated amidst them peoples of different faiths. To promote understanding and inter-civilizational harmony, the idea of Enlightened Moderation should be promoted. It envisages a two pronged approach that exhorts Muslim societies to reform and reject extremism while at the same time calls upon the West to facilitate solutions of problems that have caused deep suffering and anger among Muslims for many decades. In Pakistan, a key element of our strategy to counter extremism is education. We have introduced Madrassa reforms to ensure that these religious schools have broad curricula and impart teaching that promotes tolerance and prepares students for vocational careers.

Our political reform agenda included building grass root democratic structures, accountability and transparency to eradicate corruption and promotion of good governance. Democratic reforms included empowerment at the grass root levels and of vulnerable sections of population especially guaranteed representation for women and minorities. Today our parliament and other democratic institutions are functioning smoothly Our print and electronic media is free, dynamic and assertive.

The government attaches high priority to social sector reforms. We ensured unprecedented inputs and resources for eduction, health and poverty alleviation. Pakistan's poverty reduction strategy is implemented with active involvement of the government, the civil society and the private sector on many fronts that include accelerated economic growth, rural and urban development projects, micro-credit schemes and targeted intervention to help the poorest sections of the population.

Following are the economic problems.

Whereas Economic problems are concerned, Economic prosperity serves as a backbone for the overall progress of a nation. One thing is common in all developed nations- they are economically sound. When citizens of a country are freed from the worries of earning a livelihood to sustain their lives, they divert their attention to more useful things. They focus on education, improvise healthcare, develop technologies that make life easy and much more. Poor economic condition is the root cause of so many problems that exist in a society. Unfortunately, Pakistan's economic conditions are pathetic. As if power crises, lack of foreign investment for the development of industrial zones, backward and out-dated technology were not enough, Pakistan's indulgence in war on terrorism served as a fatal blow to the already crumbling economic state.

Result is that all our important industries that once served as an important contributor to the national GDP have been closed down. Sugar, cement and shoe industry is on its downfall while textile

industry is breathing its last. Foreign investors are not ready to set up their businesses in Pakistan. They have their own set of problems which include painful and lengthy procedure of getting licenses and work permits in Pakistan, power crises, terrorism and declining exports. Multinational Companies are reluctant to open their offices and franchises in Pakistan. More than 70 MNCs have already packed up their business from Pakistan.

Stock Exchanges also depict a true picture of economic meltdown. Instable political system, dictatorship in its worse form and non-effective democracy badly affect the rates of stocks listed on the three stock exchanges of Pakistan. During this year, many times Karachi Stock Exchange has plunged to its lowest point in the history of Pakistan. Local as well as foreign investors are hesitant of investing large sums of money in stock exchange in fear of incurring unexpected loss. Stock exchanges showed very poor performance throughout 2008. Situation was so precarious that government had to freeze the market during last quarter of 2008. Also, recovery state of stocks is alarming. Earlier when stock market used to plunge, it would recover in few days or weeks. Now share prices take a nose-dive and take considerable time to generate profits.

Rate of inflation was never a two-digit figure in Pakistan, but in recent years it has seen an unprecedented increase. Prices of all consumer products in general and food products in particular are rocket high. Cost of production increased due to various factors. International increase in oil prices and Pakistan's internal unfavourable business conditions are two important factors responsible for high rates of inflation. Consumer Price Index (CPI) as well as Wholesale Price Index (WPI) is at all-time high. In contrast, purchasing power of masses is at an all-time low.

Northern areas of Pakistan have been a place of great tourist attraction. The beautiful hills, the lush green valleys, shimmering lakes and flowing waterfalls brought many a tourist form all over the world to Pakistan. This contributed to foreign exchange. Tourism Industry was one of the booming industries of Pakistan. Besides attracting foreign exchange, it also provided employment to local people. Also, tourist industry was a source of friendly relations with other countries. Nevertheless, war on terrorism has served as a serious blow to the tourism industry of Pakistan. Local as well as foreign media has projected Pakistan as a dangerous and unsafe country. Its poor law and order situation has alarmed the tourist and thus Northern areas no more receive many tourists.

Due to war on terror, local people of war-ridden areas are migrating to other areas of Pakistan. Country has seen the largest migration since independence in 1947. These people have left their homes, businesses, possessions and property back home. This large influx of people and their rehabilitation is an economic burden for Pakistan. Unemployment is already prevalent and now the question of providing employment to these migrants has also become a serious concern. This portion of population is contributing nothing worthwhile to the national income yet they have to be benefited from it. This unproductive lot of people is a growing economic problem of Pakistan.

Following are the remedies.

Successive governments have taken steps to solve various socio-economic problems. But these problems are so deep-rooted that they have not been successful in putting an end to these problems. The problem lies in the fact that government focuses on one factor and ignores the others related to it. For example, much emphasis is laid on beefing up security in big cities in wake of terrorism. But nothing serious has been done to seal the unlawful entrance of arms from across the border. Acids and explosive materials used for destruction by atomic bombs are easily available in market at cheap prices. Ministers and other government officials enjoy the facilities of squads of armed body guards while public places like markets, roads, shopping centers, bus stands etc are not

adequately protected. To control terrorism, government needs to stop fighting the proxy war on behalf of USA.

Secondly, there is a sheer need to curb corruption at all levels. The institutions of NAB and FIA should be made more powerful to curb corruption. Culprits should not be allowed to escape out of country. Rather strict punishments should be imposed on them. Not only they should be strictly dealt with, but the wealth looted by them should be recovered and employed for the welfare of people. Judiciary should be an independent institution. Currently Pakistan has experienced a new era in the history of its judicial set-up. Judiciary is powerful but we have yet to wait and see the results of independence of judiciary in Pakistan.

Thirdly, poverty reduction should be top priority of government. Cottage industry and self-business should be promoted. Agriculture is the backbone of Pakistan's economy. It should be strengthened by providing loans to farmers. Free of cost educations should be provided to children in villages. Overall standard of living needs to be improved and inflation should be controlled.

Lastly, for economic development, energy crises should be controlled. New dams should be built and new methods of producing electricity should be utilized.

To sum up, it is said that no country is free from socio-economic problems. These problems are present in every country but the winners are those who overcome most if not all of them. Though Pakistan is currently facing a lot of socio-political and socio-economic problems but it doesn't mean that it is going towards its end. Nations face multifarious problems but together they work for towards the solution. The same is the need of hour. Government as well as every single citizen of Pakistan has to play its own specific role to bring about a positive change.

PAKISTAN RICH IN NATURAL RESOURCES, BUT POOR IN THEIR MANAGEMENT
OR
PAKISTAN IS A RICH COUNTRY WHERE POOR PEOPLE LIVE.

OUTLINE

- ❑ Introduction
- ❑ Natural Resources and their management
- ❑ Richness / abundance of natural resources in Pakistan
- ❑ Pakistan's natural resources and their mismanagement
  - **(a)** Energy resources
    - **i-** Nonrenewable energy resources
      - **(a)** Oil and Gas reserves
      - **(b)** Coal reserves
    - **ii-** Renewable energy resources
      - **(a)** Wind and solar power
      - **(b)** Hydropower
  - **(b)** Agricultural resources
    - **i-** Irrigation Network
    - **ii-** Fertile Land
    - **iii-** Variety of Crops
    - **iv-** Animal Husbandry
    - **v-** Fishing
  - **(c)** Mineral Ore Resources
    - **i.** Copper and gold resources.
    - **ii.** Salt mines and other minerals
  - **(d)** Human resources
    - **i.** Sixth Largest Population in the World
    - **ii.** Youth comprising major chuck
- ❑ Factors leading to poor management / Governance
  - **(a)** Political instability/ rivalry,
  - **(b)** Lack of vision and planning,
  - **(c)** Flawed policies,
  - **(d)** Bureaucratic bottlenecks and corruption,
  - **(e)** Worsened Law and order situation,
- ❑ Implications of mismanagement of natural resources
- ❑ Way forward
- ❑ Conclusion

ESSAY

Pakistan is one of the richest countries in the world in terms of natural resources but also one of the poorest among them in their management. The country is abundant in the vital resources including that of energy, agriculture, minerals, population, and geography, but unlike the developed countries, these have not been properly exploited due to poor management. This dismayed situation is caused due to several, both chronic and acute, flaws which have led to poor governance of country since its inception except some brief spells of economic prosperity. Prevalent political rivalry and instability, worsening law and order and rampant corruption have catalyzed the situation to resource development impasse. Contrary to economic potential of its natural resources, Pakistan is a depending on foreign aid and debt, it is facing deficit in trade, acute energy crisis to run industry, and water stress for agriculture, to name a few challenges. However, the daunting challenges and the mounting public pressure caused due to awareness of civil society are increasingly influencing the political decision making. Eventually, there is sign of hope for devising effective strategy to exploit the natural resource wealth of the country for its self sufficiency and viable economic development. It is suffice to say that the proper exploitation of this wealth would lead to the prosperity of this nation.

Before discussing what natural resources Pakistan possesses, it is important to understand what constitutes Natural resources. These occur naturally within environments characterized by amounts of biodiversity and geodiversity existent in various ecosystems. Some resources like water and agriculture are essential for survival of inhabitants while others like energy and minerals are secondary in nature but essential for economic development. However, efficient management of these resources is vital to achieve prosperity of nation. Natural resource management is a discipline with a particular focus on how management affects the quality of life for both present and future generations. It is interrelated with the concept of sustainable development. Pakistan is blessed with huge quantity of resources but lags in management.

Being situated at one of the best geographic and geostrategic locations on the map of world, Pakistan is affluent in the natural resources. It has enormous energy surplus resource potential of both renewable and nonrenewable, which is greater than that of oil rich countries of Gulf. Among the world's 200 plus countries it has the second largest salt mines, second largest coal reserves, fifth largest copper and gold reserves, seventh largest wheat and rice production capacity. It is the sixth most populous country in the world having large share of young population. Had these resources been properly managed, this country would have been one of the richest economies of world. The detailed account of the natural wealth of Pakistan shows how such great potential has been untapped due to mismanagement.

There are plenty of nonrenewable energy resources like oil, gas and coal in Pakistan. It has more than 436.2 million barrels of oil, according to CIA World Fact Book, and 31.3 trillion cubic feet of proven gas reserves. The current oil production is 65,997 barrels per day while gas production is 4 billion cubic feet per day. Though it is not enough to meet the needs, it can save considerable outflow of currency. Moreover, there is resource potential of 27 billion Barrels of Oil and 282 TCF of gas reserves in the country which has not been explored due to lack of vision and flawed policies.

Pakistan has world's second largest coal deposits of 185 billion tons. These are estimated to be equivalent to 618 billion barrels of crude oil. This is more than twice if we compare it with oil reserves of Saudi Arabia. If it is converted into oil by gasification, it will generate 650 barrels of crude oil which at an average market rate of eighty dollars per barrel, would generate 5.2 trillion dollars. But

the policy making elite of the country has not only been oblivious to the potential but also indifferent to the slow pace of efforts to harness this source for energy production and exports. The energy deficit is badly affecting the industry in country but no any serious initiative is taken for electricity production from coal. China imports its 65 percent of coal requirements but despite being 'all weather friend', this giant energy importing economy does not import coal from Pakistan.

Besides, the geography of Pakistan enriches it with the renewable energy resources. Wind and Solar energy are other unused lifelines of Pakistan. 1046 km long coastal line gives potential of 40000 MW of electricity. The vast lands of Balochistan can be utilized for solar electricity generation. But unfortunately these resources have barely been used due to technological backwardness and lack of innovative policies.

The hydropower potential of the country is also enough to satisfy the needs of energy. Only 33 percent of around 20,000 MW generation capacity is produced from this resource which has the potential of producing 40,000 MW. No concrete steps have been taken to harness this resource mainly because of political differences and distrust prevailing in the country.

The lack of vision and policy planning in utilization of water resource is also severely affecting agriculture. Despite having one of the largest irrigation systems of the world, Pakistan is facing water scarcity for crops. Storage capacity of water reservoirs is quickly depleting because of annual sediment inflow and a substantial quantum of available water is lost in seepage as the canals have not been cemented. Out of 77 million acres cultivable area, only 55.5 million acres have been ploughed. The country is blessed with four seasons and variety of crops but due to lack of research the productivity remains low.

In addition, being an agricultural country it possesses tremendous scope of animal husbandry. Pakistan's breeds of cow like Sahiwal cow are the best breeds of world. Due care to this area can lead to bulk of exports in dairy products. On other hand, fishing industry has an important role to play in national economy of Pakistan. The coast line of 814 km provides ample opportunity to enhance this industry, but poor performance and poor presentation of our cause in WTO have put this industry at the verge of destruction.

The minerals are also vital natural resources available in great quantity. Pakistan has fifth largest copper and gold reserves in the world. The Riko deq project, copper and gold reservoir, have been estimated to be worth of 260 billion dollars, which is ten times the all financial aid received from USA in last sixty year. But instead of exploiting own resources for economic independence, country has been dependent on foreign aid. How rich Pakistan is, and how poor Pakistanis are! There are other partially untapped resources of rock salts, Gypsum, lime stone, iron, marble, and silica sand in large quantities. These resources have not been exploited due to corruption and bottlenecks in political and bureaucratic culture.

The most important of the natural resources in this globalized world is human resource. Pakistan is the sixth most populous country in the world having large share of 'young population' i.e. 63 percent below age of 25 years, according to United Nations Development Programme. But the failed policies have caused mounting unemployment of 15 percent. The resource which could be used to enhance the economic activity is left to no use which is adding to the increase in poverty. The lack of opportunities leading to the brain drain of talented minds has further worsened the situation.

The above analysis reveals that *Pakistan is not poor, but poorly managed country*. The factors which have caused the poor management of natural resources include political instability, political indecision making / divergence, lack of vision and planning, flawed policies, bureaucratic bottlenecks and corruption, lack of human resource development, worsened law and order situation.

These factors have led not only to the poor management of natural resources but also to the poor governance of country.

The political instability has been the main cause of such mayhem. Since the independence, no political group in Pakistan has been given enough time to be mature. The military interference in politics and rivalry among political stakeholders are the key features of brief history of this country. This inconsistency has kept the exploitation of natural wealth unattended. The divergence of opinion on construction of water resources has deprived the country of storing the surplus water for agriculture and electricity generation. However, this could be overcome by vision and planning, which is a scarce commodity here. Instead of controversial big dams several small reservoirs could be constructed, had a pragmatic approach prevailed among the decision making machinery.

Coupled with this, the flawed policies of successive governments have caused tremendous problems despite availability of adequate resources. The energy sector is a vivid example of such poor management. The major chunk of the electricity is produced through thermal generation for which almost 80 percent of oil is imported. Whereas the second largest treasure of coal in the world is left unexplored as it contributes only 2 percent of electricity generation. Countries like US, China and India generate electricity by almost 60 percent from coal due to its lower cost. This shows how other countries take cost of electricity generation into serious consideration.

However, it would be unfair to put all the burden of poor resource management on the political factors. The bureaucratic bottlenecks and corruption have been equally responsible for this undesirable scenario. Several hydro power projects, Thar coal project, and oil exploration projects are in doldrums due to bureaucratic bottlenecks. There is no headway in solar and wind energy projects planned by Alternative Energy Development Board. Similarly, corruption has also been extremely detrimental. The standstill in the Riko deq project is an example of this case. Pakistan is ranked at 34 in Corruption Perception Index 2010 by Transparency International, which is a discouraging factor for foreign direct investment.

In addition, the worsened law and order situation has caused severe blow to the economy in general and natural resource management in particular. The volatile situation in Balochistan is harmful to the exploitation of resources. The Gawadar port, despite being located at crucial location, has not been made fully functional. Other projects of mineral exploration are also affected. The terrorism in the northern areas has been harmful for the potential tourism industry.

These factors of poor management have placed Pakistan in an undesirable situation domestically and internationally. The socio-economic situation remains gloomy as the GDP growth rate is one of the lowest in South Asia at 2.2 percent, trade deficit is estimated about $16 billion, inflation rate continues to be in double digits at 15 percent, population below poverty line is alarmingly around 35 percent, and unemployment is at 15 percent.

Also, it does not enjoy a favorable position among the comity of nations. It is ranked 123rd out of 139 countries in Global Competitive Index; it is at 134th among 192 in Human development Index by UNDP; and it occupies the critical position of 12th in Failed States Index 2011 issued by Foreign Policy Magazine.

The country has been economically dependent on foreign aid and debt, which has adversely affected her standing in international community. However, despite Pakistan's crucial role in west's geostrategic framework and war on terror, the allies end up donating small amounts of grants which make fractions of what could be obtained from exploiting own natural resources. The external debts and liabilities have nearly doubled from $ 37 billion in year 2000, to $ 59.5 billion in year 2011.

Nevertheless, the worst impact so far is the energy crises in Pakistan. There is serious shortfall of electricity, gas and oil. Electricity demand exceeds supply and "load shedding" is a common phenomenon. The shortfall of electricity reaches at 4000-5000 MW which badly affected industry, eventually leading to decreased exports and diminished economic activity.

These adverse implications, of the extremely poor management of resources, on the economy and society in the country, warrant a serious approach and comprehensive strategy to reverse the trend. The pragmatic approach and policy direction can help the country to be able to rely on its own resources instead of dependency.

Pakistani leadership must focus on exploration of natural resources and their scientific management. Properly managed natural resources can become instrumental in national income and its growth. Extensive geological survey is required to discover the resource potential, planning and vision is needed to explore the proved but untapped resources and effective strategy is essential to fully exploit the resources under use.

In order to take maximum benefits from natural resources there is the need of technical education of people involved in resource exploitation and management. The technical education ensures that there is minimum wastage of the resources. Hence, such education should be made compulsory for the people in concerned areas of activity.

On the other hand, the politicians, policy makers and all the stake holders must adopt a rational approach not to politicize natural resources. It should be prioritized as the vital national interest and dealt with as such. The controversies on the management of water and mineral resources must be resolved pragmatically for best interest of the nation.

Last but not the least, worsened law and order situation in Pakistan, which has led to the lack of investment, must be checked. The private firms engaged in resource exploration must be protected by the state. Ensuring the security, would attract investment in the respective areas which would subsequently guarantee the inflow of capital in the national economy and the resource potential could be fully exploited.

It needs not to be emphasized that Pakistan is not poor but poor management of its natural resources has made it so. The enormous natural resources of all kinds like energy, minerals, agriculture, and human could have made this country a wealthy economy. Instead, there been bleak picture of economy and undesirable image outside due to the chronic flaws in vision and policies. Thus, the daunting challenge of poor management of natural resources direly needs to be addressed not only to overcome the perils caused due to it but also to achieve economic self sufficiency and prosperity of the nation. By surpassing this challenge, Pakistan is destined to have eminence place in the world as a stable, growing and prosperous nation.

ISLAM - THE RELIGION OF PEACE

OUTLINE

- ❑ Introduction
- ❑ Biasness of the west
- ❑ Propaganda of the west using print and electronic media
- ❑ Islam prohibits violence and aggression
- ❑ Islam, a religion of peace
- ❑ Islam encourages peace and coexistence with other religions
- ❑ Islamic Principle: living peacefully with all nations and peoples
- ❑ Hadith of the Holy Prophet
- ❑ Ayats of the Holy Quran
- ❑ Teachings of Islam regarding war
- ❑ No compulsion in religion
- ❑ When are Muslims permitted to fight a war?
- ❑ Does Islam permit killing civilians?
- ❑ Suicide attacks and Islam
- ❑ Pre-Islamic Arabia
- ❑ Forbiddin Acts
- ❑ 9\11 and war against Islam
- ❑ Causes of these attacks
- ❑ Conclusion

ESSAY

Today, many non-Muslims regard Islam as a religion that promotes violence, terrorism and war. Unfortunately, they rely in their view of Islam on the general media, which is not always accurate in reporting the news. Many media outlets, such as TV, radio, newspapers and magazines, are influenced by their investors or owners who have certain agendas and who want to promote certain values and points of view. Other media outlets are simply after the "big story", in order to make more money and more profits. Others are simply "followers", who only gather news from other sources, re-package it and try to sell it again purely as a business.

In all these cases, the news reporting is not accurate, but is driven by ulterior motives or simply by profits. Only very few media organizations are committed to providing accurate and true information, regardless of financial gain. Therefore, people today should be very careful in what they take from the media.

Before blindly accepting what the TV, radio or newspaper are reporting, one should think critically about what is being reported. Is this being reported accurately, or is it being exaggerated or even completely fabricated? Who are these people reporting the news, and do they have vested interests to report the story in a certain way, or are they completely objective and fair? Critical thinking is very important in all aspects of life, especially when it comes to accepting the media reports about important and controversial issues.

Islam is in fact a religion that promotes peace and understanding among people of all faiths, and it strongly prohibits all forms of violence and aggression against all people regardless of their faith or race.

Islam clearly prohibits all kinds and forms of aggression and violence against anyone, except in self-defense. Islam is a practical religion, meant to be implemented in every aspect of our life. Therefore, it realizes the fact that a person who commits aggression and violence against others will not cease these actions unless they are deterred by similar actions taken against them. Islam also places very high importance on justice, and allows for aggressors and unjust people be punished accordingly, unless they repent before they are brought to justice. At the same time, Islam encourages people to forgive those who have wronged them whenever possible.

Evidence of these ideals can be found in the Holy Qur'an, which is the word of God revealed to the messenger of God, Mohammad (SAW). It can also be found in the Hadith, the sayings of Mohammad(SAW), and in his teachings to Muslims. A few examples of this are shown below from the Holy Qur'an:

- "Fight in the cause of Allah those who fight you, and do not transgress; for Allah loveth not transgressors." (Surah 2, Verse 190).
- "But if they cease (fighting you), Allah is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful." (Surah 2, Verse 192).
- "But if the enemy incline towards peace, do thou (also) incline towards peace, and trust in Allah: for He is the One that Heareth and Knoweth (all things)." (Surah 8, Verse 61).
- "The prohibited month, for the prohibited month, and so for all things prohibited, there is the law of equality. If then any one transgresses the prohibition against you, transgress ye likewise against him. But fear Allah, and know that Allah is with those who restrain themselves." (Surah 2, Verse 194).
- " ... and let not the hatred of some people in (once) shutting you out of the Sacred Mosque lead you to transgression (and hostility on your part). Help ye one another in righteousness

and piety, but help ye not one another in sin and rancour: fear Allah: for Allah is strict in punishment." (Surah 5, Verse 2).

- "Nor can Goodness and Evil be equal. Repel (Evil) with what is better: then will he between whom and thee was hatred become as it were thy friend and intimate!" (Surah 41, Verse 34).
- "O ye who believe! stand out firmly for justice, as witnesses to Allah, even as against yourselves, or your parents, or your kin, and whether it be (against) rich or poor: for Allah can best protect both. Follow not the lusts (of your hearts), lest ye swerve, and if ye distort (justice) or decline to do justice, verily Allah is well-acquainted with all that ye do." (Surah 4, Verse 135).
- "God advocates justice, charity, and regarding the relatives. And He forbids evil, vice, and transgression. He enlightens you, that you may take heed." (Surah 16, Verse 90).
- "And if ye do punish them, punish them no worse than they punished you: but if ye show patience, that is indeed the best (course) for those who are patient." (Surah 16, Verse 126).

The first three verses above instruct Muslims to fight those who fight them, and not to commit aggression first, as God does not like transgressors. They also instruct Muslims to stop fighting those who wish to cease fighting them, and to accept peace with the enemy who becomes inclined towards peace.

The fourth verse mentioned above instructs Muslims that if someone transgresses against them, they should respond to them likewise, and it reminds Muslims to fear God and to restrain themselves to this limit.

The fifth verse reminds Muslims not to let hatred of some people for past reasons to lead them to transgress against those people or be hostile towards them. It also instructs us to help each other in good and righteous actions, and not to cooperate in aggression and sin, and it reminds them finally of the strict punishment of God to encourage them to abide by these principles.

The sixth verse reminds us that goodness and evil are never equal, and that we should repel evil with good actions. This means that when someone is unjust to us or commits evil against us, we are encouraged to respond with kind and good actions, so that the hatred between us and that person will evaporate and will become an intimate friendship!

The seventh verse mentioned reminds us to stand up for justice, even if it is against ourselves or our family, and even if it is against those who are rich or powerful, because justice applies to everyone. It also reminds us that God knows everything we do, and so if we act unjustly even in our hearts, God knows what we did and we will be accountable for that.

The eighth verse informs us that God enjoins us to follow justice, and that God forbids us from committing evil, vice and transgression.

The ninth and final verse reminds Muslims that if they are punished, that they may only respond with the same punishment and not to go over this limit. However, they are reminded that forgiveness and patience is the best course of action.

These are the wonderful ideals of Islam:

- To pursue peace with everyone including past enemies, except when they fight the Muslims and refuse peace, then Muslims are allowed to fight in self-defense.
- To ensure that we always apply justice and never transgress against others even if they are our enemies.
- To repel evil actions with good actions, in order to replace hatred with an intimate friendship.

- To respond to punishment with the same punishment, but that forgiveness and patience is even better than retaliation.
- The verse mentioned below informs us that we were created and made into various nations and tribes so that we may get to know each other, and not so that we may despise and hate each other. Then we are reminded of the fact that the best of us in God's eyes are those who are most righteous.
- "O mankind! We created you from a single (pair) of a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that ye may know each other (not that ye may despise each other). Verily the most honoured of you in the sight of Allah is (he who is) the most righteous of you. And Allah has full Knowledge and is well-acquainted (with all things)." (Surah 49, Verse 13).

This wonderful principle of Islam makes it clear that there is no single people, race, or nation that is better than others. God created us all equal. In God's eyes, the best of us are the most righteous and most kind.

God created mankind as different races and nations although He could have created us all with as one nation, with one language and one religion. However, as stated in the verse mentioned above, God created these different nations and tribes so that we get to know other each other, and not to hate each other because we are different. This tells us that we should celebrate our differences and not hate each other based on them. Islam also teaches us to realize that no single race or people have supremacy over others, and that we are judged solely based on our actions.

This verse also teaches us that we should live peacefully with other nations and tribes and we should respect each other and our differences. We should learn to live together and to get to know each other, and to engage in dialogue amongst all nations and treat every human being as being equal.

There is no compulsion in Islam. The verse from the Qur'an which states this principle of no compulsion in religion is the following:

- "Let there be no compulsion in religion: Truth stands out clear from Error: whoever rejects Evil and believes in Allah hath grasped the most trustworthy hand-hold, that never breaks. And Allah heareth and knoweth all things." (Surah 2, Verse 256).

The holy Qur'an reminds us that there must not be compulsion in religion. It states that the truth stands out clear from error, and that those who reject error and believe in God are the saved ones.

This means that Muslims are not allowed to force people to convert to Islam. Muslims should only seek to make the truth clear to others, and talk to them about Islam, then let them decide for themselves. In fact, most people who study Islam without having made a decision to hate it first come to love its message and convert to Islam after learning about its values and principles.

Another verse that also states this principle is the following:

- "If one amongst the Pagans ask thee for asylum, grant it to him, so that he may hear the word of Allah; and then escort him to where he can be secure. That is because they are men without knowledge." (Surah 9, Verse 6).

This wonderful verse instructs Muslims to grant asylum to non-believers, and make them safe, and allow them to hear the word of Allah. Then they are to be escorted to whatever place they will be safe and secure in. This is because these non-believers simply have no knowledge of Islam, and no knowledge of the word of Allah.

What a wonderful religion Islam is! How can this be compared with the way that Christians spread their religion? They spread it by genocide, mass murder, kidnapping of children and wiping out of entire nations and civilizations! Ask the natives of the Americas, Australia and Africa about it!

As stated earlier, Islam is a very practical religion. It is not just about fake ideals that do not work. It is a religion that is meant to be implemented 100% in all actions of the Muslims life, and it is meant to promote peace and justice in the world.

Therefore, Islam does allow Muslims to go to war, as mentioned earlier, in certain circumstances. This includes self-defense, and to remove aggression and injustice that has befallen people and to save them from their oppressors. The verses that tell Muslims to fight those who fight them were mentioned earlier. Below is the verse in the holy Qur'an that allows Muslims to fight against injustice.

- "Permission [to fight] is granted to those who are being persecuted, since injustice has befallen them, and God is certainly able to support them [with victory].

They were evicted from their homes unjustly, for no reason other than saying, "Our Lord is God." If it were not for God's supporting of some people against others, monasteries, churches, synagogues, and mosques - where the name of God is commemorated frequently - would have been destroyed. Absolutely, God supports those who support Him. God is Powerful, Almighty." (Surah 22, Verses 39-40).

This verse gives permission to those Muslims who fall under oppressive, unjust rule, and those Muslims who are being persecuted to fight to remove this oppression.

Even in times of war, the Muslim must respect his adversaries humanly. Brutal and barbaric atrocities are prohibited in Islam. Islam condemns barbaric killing of any human being. Therefore, Islam does not permit the mutilation of the bodies of the dead enemy soldiers. Also, Islam prohibits the targeting and killing of all civilians, especially women, children, the elderly, and religious clergy. Enemies, even at time of war, must be treated justly. Prisoners of war have basic human rights, as stated in the Shariah (Islamic Law), and must be provided and cared for and not humiliated in any way.

The following verses touch on some of these issues:

- "O Prophet! say to those who are captives in your hands: If Allah findeth any good in your hearts, He will give you something better than what has been taken from you, and He will forgive you: for Allah is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful." (Surah 8, Verse 70).
- And they feed, for the love of Allah, the indigent, the orphan, and the captive, (Saying), We feed you for the sake of Allah alone: no reward do we desire from you, nor thanks." (Surah 76, Verses 8-9).

In addition, the following were the instructions of Prophet Mohammad (pbuh) to Muslims who are forced to fight a war:

- "Do not kill women or children or non-combatants and do not kill old people or religious people," and he mentioned priests, nuns and rabbis. And he said, "Do not cut down fruit-bearing trees and do not poison the wells of your enemies."

There are many more sayings and teachings of Prophet Mohammad (SAW) that instruct Muslims on these issues.

In addition to all this, Islam prohibits oppression, revenge or injustice to the people of the enemy in case of victory against them. Nor must there be control over the sources of the wealth of the nation or people, or even establishment of colonial regimes. Justice and freedom must be established. Tolerance towards cultures and peoples is to be respected at all times.

The dangerous escalation of violence in the world is disturbing all the people of conscience, from September 11 to the Middle East battles and other random acts of violence perpetrated at innocent civilians. In Islam, several things are clear:

Suicide is forbidden. "O ye who believe!... (do not) kill yourselves, for truly Allah has been to you Most Merciful. If any do that in rancour and injustice, soon shall We cast him into the Fire..." ***(Quran 4: 29-30)***

The taking of life is allowed only by way of justice (i.e. the death penalty for murder), but even then, forgiveness is better.

"Nor take life - which Allah has made sacred - except for just cause..." ***(17:33)***

And fight in the way of Allah those who fight you. But do not transgress limits. Truly Allah loves not the transgressors." ***(Surah Baqarah: 190)***

In pre-Islamic Arabia, retaliation and mass murder was commonplace. If someone was killed, the victim's tribe would retaliate against the murderer's entire tribe. This practice was directly forbidden in the Quran (2:178-179).

The Quran admonishes those who oppress others and transgress beyond the bounds of what is right and just. "The blame is only against those who oppress men with wrongdoing and insolently transgress beyond bounds through the land, defying right and justice. For such there will be a chastisement grievous (in the Hereafter)" ***(Surah Ash-Shura: 42)***

Harming innocent bystanders, even in times of war, was forbidden by the Prophet Muhammad (SAW). This includes women, children, non-combatant bystanders and even trees and crops. Nothing is to be harmed unless the person or thing is actively engaged in an assault against Muslims. The predominant theme in the Quran is forgiveness and peace. Allah is Merciful and Forgiving, and seeks that in His followers. Indeed, most people who spend time on a personal level with ordinary Muslims have found them to be peaceful, honest, hard-working and civic-minded people.

In the fight against terrorism of all forms, it is important to understand who or what is our enemy. We can only fight against this horror, if we understand its causes and motivations. What motivates a person to lash out in this violent and inhumane way? The true motivation of such attacks is something that all of us, mental health professionals, politicians and common people, need to understand, so that we can address the issues, prevent more violence, and find ways to work towards lasting peace.

"O ye who believe! Remain steadfast for Allah, bearing witness to justice. Do not allow your hatred for others make you swerve to wrongdoing and turn you away from justice. Be just; that is closer to true piety...." ***(Surah Maidah: 8)***

The Holy Quran urges the followers of Islam to resort to peace first and whenever possible but they may fight the oppressors if peaceful means failed. Fighting does not include killing the innocent civilians and the least expecting people as this reflects the meanest kind of character and does not reflect the spirit and/or teachings of Islam.

To sum up, this is the Islamic point of view on war, peace and justice. It is hoped that after reading this article, people will have a clear understanding that Islam promotes peace and justice, and stands against aggression and violence.

It is very sad that some people who want to give a wrong impression of Islam, simply select a few words from the Holy Qur'an and distort them and put them in the wrong context, all in order to prove that Islam supports violence. They ignore all the verses mentioned in this article.

REFORMING THE UNO

OUTLINE

- ❑ Establishment of the UNO
- ❑ Main Purposes
- ❑ Aims of the UNO
- ❑ Charter of the UNO
- ❑ Preamble
- ❑ Purposes and principles
- ❑ Important Articles (1 to 22)
- ❑ Major Institutions
- ❑ The General Assembly
- ❑ The Security Council
- ❑ Membership
- ❑ The International Court of Justice and its composition
- ❑ Reforming the UNO
- ❑ General Assembly Task Force
- ❑ Increasing membership
- ❑ New permanent members
  - Brazil
  - Germany
  - India
  - Japan
  - Membership of the Muslims countries
  - Africa
- ❑ Veto Reforms
- ❑ Democracy in the organization
- ❑ Other reforms

ESSAY

The United Nations is an international organization founded in 1945 after the Second World War by 51 countries committed to maintaining international peace and security, developing friendly relations among nations and promoting social progress, better living standards and human rights.

The UN has 4 main purposes

- To keep peace throughout the world;
- To develop friendly relations among nations;
- To help nations work together to improve the lives of poor people, to conquer hunger, disease and illiteracy, and to encourage respect for each other's rights and freedoms;
- To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations to achieve these goals.

Due to its unique international character, and the powers vested in its founding Charter, the Organization can take action on a wide range of issues, and provide a forum for its 192 Member States to express their views, through the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and other bodies and committees.

The work of the United Nations reaches every corner of the globe. Although best known for peacekeeping, peacebuilding, conflict prevention and humanitarian assistance, there are many other ways the United Nations and its System (specialized agencies, funds and programmes) affect our lives and make the world a better place. The Organization works on a broad range of fundamental issues, from sustainable development, environment and refugees protection, disaster relief, counter terrorism, disarmament and non-proliferation, to promoting democracy, human rights, gender equality and the advancement of women, governance, economic and social development and international health, clearing landmines, expanding food production, and more, in order to achieve its goals and coordinate efforts for a safer world for this and future generations.

The Charter of the United Nations was signed on 26 June 1945, in San Francisco, at the conclusion of the United Nations Conference on International Organization, and came into force on 24 October 1945. The Statute of the International Court of Justice is an integral part of the Charter.

Amendments to Articles 23, 27 and 61 of the Charter were adopted by the General Assembly on 17 December 1963 and came into force on 31 August 1965. A further amendment to Article 61 was adopted by the General Assembly on 20 December 1971, and came into force on 24 September 1973. An amendment to Article 109, adopted by the General Assembly on 20 December 1965, came into force on 12 June 1968.

The amendment to Article 23 enlarges the membership of the Security Council from eleven to fifteen. The amended Article 27 provides that decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members (formerly seven) and on all other matters by an affirmative vote of nine members (formerly seven), including the concurring votes of the five permanent members of the Security Council.

According to the preamble the United Nations is determined:

- to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and
- to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and

- to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and
- to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,
- to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and
- to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and
- to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and
- to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples.

According to the Article 1, the purposes of the United Nations are:

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;
2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;
3. To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and
4. To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

According to the Article 2

The Organization and its Members, in pursuit of the Purposes stated in Article 1, shall act in accordance with the following Principles.

1. The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members.
2. All Members, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership, shall fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter.
3. All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.
4. All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.
5. All Members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter, and shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action.

According to the Article 3

The original Members of the United Nations shall be the states which, having participated in the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco, or having previously signed the Declaration by United Nations of 1 January 1942, sign the present Charter and ratify it in accordance with Article 110.

According to the Article 4

1. Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations.
2. The admission of any such state to membership in the United Nations will be effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

According to the Article 5

A Member of the United Nations against which preventive or enforcement action has been taken by the Security Council may be suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. The exercise of these rights and privileges may be restored by the Security Council.

According to the Article 6

A Member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the Principles contained in the present Charter may be expelled from the Organization by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

According to the Article 7

1. There are established as principal organs of the United Nations: a General Assembly, a Security Council, an Economic and Social Council, a Trusteeship Council, an International Court of Justice and a Secretariat.
2. Such subsidiary organs as may be found necessary may be established in accordance with the present Charter.

According to the Article 8

The United Nations shall place no restrictions on the eligibility of men and women to participate in any capacity and under conditions of equality in its principal and subsidiary organs.

According to the Article 9

The composition of the General Assembly is following:

1. The General Assembly shall consist of all the Members of the United Nations.
2. Each Member shall have not more than five representatives in the General Assembly.

According to the Article 10, the functions and powers of the General Assembly are the following:

The General Assembly may discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of the present Charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organs provided for in the present Charter, and, except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations to the Members of the United Nations or to the Security Council or to both on any such questions or matters.

The Charter established six principal organs of the United Nations: the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice, and the Secretariat. The United Nations family, however, is much larger, encompassing 15 agencies and several programmes and bodies.

The General Assembly is the main deliberative, policymaking and representative organ of the United Nations. Comprising all 192 Members of the United Nations, it provides a unique forum for multilateral discussion of the full spectrum of international issues covered by the Charter. The Assembly meets in regular session intensively from September to December each year, and thereafter as required.

The Security Council has primary responsibility, under the Charter, for the maintenance of international peace and security. It is so organized as to be able to function continuously, and a representative of each of its members must be present at all times at United Nations Headquarters. On 31 January 1992, the first ever Summit Meeting of the Council was convened at Headquarters, attended by Heads of State and Government of 13 of its 15 members and by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the remaining two. The Council may meet elsewhere than at Headquarters; in 1972, it held a session in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, and the following year in Panama City, Panama.

When a complaint concerning a threat to peace is brought before it, the Council's first action is usually to recommend to the parties to try to reach agreement by peaceful means. In some cases, the Council itself undertakes investigation and mediation. It may appoint special representatives or request the Secretary-General to do so or to use his good offices. It may set forth principles for a peaceful settlement.

When a dispute leads to fighting, the Council's first concern is to bring it to an end as soon as possible. On many occasions, the Council has issued cease-fire directives which have been instrumental in preventing wider hostilities. It also sends United Nations peace-keeping forces to help reduce tensions in troubled areas, keep opposing forces apart and create conditions of calm in which peaceful settlements may be sought. The Council may decide on enforcement measures, economic sanctions (such as trade embargoes) or collective military action.

A Member State against which preventive or enforcement action has been taken by the Security Council may be suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. A Member State which has persistently violated the principles of the Charter may be expelled from the United Nations by the Assembly on the Council's recommendation.

The Presidency of the Council rotates monthly, according to the English alphabetical listing of its member States.

The Council is composed of five permanent members — China, France, Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States — and ten non-permament members (with year of term's end):

1.	Bosnia and Herzegovina (2011)	**2.**	Brazil (2011)
3.	Colombia (2012)	**4.**	Gabon (2011)
5.	Germany (2012)	**6.**	India (2012)
7.	Lebanon (2011)	**8.**	Nigeria (2011)
9.	Portugal (2012)	**10.**	South Africa (2012)

The General Assembly elected Colombia, Germany, India, Portugal and South Africa to serve as non-permanent members of the Security Council for two-year terms starting on 1 January 2011. The newly elected countries have replaced Austria, Japan, Mexico, Turkey and Uganda.

Under the Charter, the functions and powers of the Security Council are:

- to maintain international peace and security in accordance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations;
- to investigate any dispute or situation which might lead to international friction;
- to recommend methods of adjusting such disputes or the terms of settlement;
- to formulate plans for the establishment of a system to regulate armaments;

- to determine the existence of a threat to the peace or act of aggression and to recommend what action should be taken;
- to call on Members to apply economic sanctions and other measures not involving the use of force to prevent or stop aggression;

The International Court of Justice (ICJ) is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations (UN). It was established in June 1945 by the Charter of the United Nations and began work in April 1946. The seat of the Court is at the Peace Palace in The Hague (Netherlands). Of the six principal organs of the United Nations, it is the only one not located in New York (United States of America). The Court's role is to settle, in accordance with international law, legal disputes submitted to it by States and to give advisory opinions on legal questions referred to it by authorized United Nations organs and specialized agencies. The Court is composed of 15 judges, who are elected for terms of office of nine years by the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council. It is assisted by a Registry, its administrative organ. Its official languages are English and French.

Reforms of the United Nations Security Council encompass five key issues: categories of membership, the question of the veto held by the five permanent members, regional representation, the size of an enlarged Council and its working methods. Member States, regional groups and other Member State interest groupings developed different positions and proposals on how to move forward on this contested issue.

Even though the geopolitical realities have changed drastically since 1945, when the set-up of the current Council was decided, the Security Council has changed very little during this long period. The winners of Second World War shaped the Charter of the United Nations in their national interests, dividing the veto-power pertinent to the permanent seats amongst themselves.

With the enlargement of the United Nations membership and increasing self-confidence among the new members, going hand in hand with processes of decolonization, old structures and procedures were increasingly challenged. The imbalance between the number of seats in the Security Council and the total number of member States became evident and the only significant reform of the Security Council came to pass in 1965 after the ratification of two thirds of the membership, including the five permanent members of the Security Council (that have a veto right on Charter changes). The reform included an increase of the non-permanent membership from six to 10 members.

With Boutros Boutros-Ghali elected as Secretary-General in 1992, the reform discussions of the UN Security Council were launched again as he started his new term with the first-ever summit of the Security Council and thereafter published "An Agenda for Peace". His motivation was to restructure the composition and anachronistic procedures of the UN organ recognizing the changed world.

By 1992, Germany and Japan had become the second and third largest contributor to the United Nations and started to demand a permanent seat. Also Brazil (fifth largest country in terms of territory) and India (second largest country in terms of population) as the most powerful countries within their regional groups and key players within their regions saw themselves with a permanent seat. This group of four countries formed an interest group later known as the G4.

On the other hand their regional rivals were opposed to the G4 becoming permanent members with a veto power. They favored the expansion of the non-permanent category of seats with members to be elected on a regional basis. Italy, Spain, Argentina, Canada, Mexico, South Korea and Pakistan started to form an interest group, known as the "Coffee Club" and later "*Uniting for Consensus*".

Simultaneously, the African Group started to demand two permanent seats for themselves, on the basis of historical injustices and the fact that a large part of the Council's agenda is concentrated on the continent. Those two seats would be permanent African seats, that rotate between African countries chosen by the African group.

The existing permanent members, each holding the right of veto on Security Council reform, announced their positions reluctantly. The United States supported the permanent membership of Japan and a small number of additional non-permanent members. The United Kingdom and France essentially supported the G4 position, with the expansion of permanent and non-permanent members and the accession of German, Brazil, India and Japan to permanent member status, as well as an increase the presence by African countries on the Council. China supported the stronger representation of developing countries.

The General Assembly Task Force on Security Council Reform has delivered a Report (on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council) recommending a compromise solution for entering intergovernmental negotiations on reform.

The report builds on existing transitional/intermediary approaches to suggest a "timeline perspective". The "timeline perspective" suggests that Member States begin by identifying the negotiables to be included in short-term intergovernmental negotiations. Crucial to the "timeline perspective" is the scheduling of a mandatory review conference—a forum for discussing changes to any reforms achieved in the near-term, and for revisiting negotiables that cannot be agreed upon now.

On March 21, 2005, the then UN Secretary General Kofi Annan called on the UN to reach a consensus on expanding the council to 24 members, in a plan referred to as "In Larger Freedom". He gave two alternatives for implementation, but did not specify which proposal he preferred. In any case, Annan favored making the decision quickly, stating, "This important issue has been discussed for too long. I believe member states should agree to take a decision on it—preferably by consensus, but in any case before the summit—making use of one or other of the options presented in the report of the High-Level Panel".

The two options mentioned by Annan are referred to as Plan A and Plan B:

- *Plan A* calls for creating six new permanent members, plus three new nonpermanent members for a total of 24 seats in the council.
- *Plan B* calls for creating eight new seats in a new class of members, who would serve for four years, subject to renewal, plus one nonpermanent seat, also for a total of 24.

The summit mentioned by Annan is the September 2005 Millennium+5 Summit, a high level plenary meeting that reviewed Annan's report, the implementation of the 2000 Millennium Declaration, and other UN reform-related issues.

On July 26, 2005, five UN member countries, Argentina, Italy, Canada, Colombia and Pakistan, representing a larger group of countries called Uniting for Consensus, proposed to General Assembly another project, that maintains five permanent members, and raises the number of non-permanent members to 20. On April 11, 2005, China had "embraced" this initiative.

The G4 nations: Brazil, Germany, India, and Japan. One proposed change is to admit more members: the candidates usually mentioned are Japan, Germany, India and Brazil (the G4 nations). Britain, France and Russia support G4 membership in the UN Security Council. Italy has always opposed this kind of reform, and has submitted since 1992 another proposal, together with other countries, based on the introduction of semi-permanent membership.

In addition South Korea opposed Japan; Pakistan opposes India; and Mexico and Argentina oppose Brazil, a Portuguese-speaking country in a largely Spanish-speaking Latin America. Most of the leading candidates for permanent membership are regularly elected onto the Security Council by their respective groups: Japan and Brazil were elected for nine two-year terms each, and Germany for three terms. India has been elected to the council seven times in total, with the most recent successful bid being in 2010 after a gap of almost twenty years since 1991–92.

Although the United States supports Japan's bid for Security Council membership, it rejects the combined G4+One bid for membership as a whole, which Japan needs to keep its support. While Russia is interested in a local counterweight to China, it is also wary of Japan's strong ties to the United States. However, China has the power to veto any bid on the part of Japan to become a permanent member. The United States has refrained from supporting Germany but supports Japan's bid.

Some other Asian nations have expressed support for Japan's application, including Mongolia, Thailand, Cambodia, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines, and Vietnam—all major recipients of loan and/or foreign investment from Japan. The other G4 countries, Germany, Brazil, and India, who are also bidding for Security Council seats, along with France and the United Kingdom, also back Japan's bid.[14] Australia, the Cook Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, Kiribati, the Marshall Islands, Nauru, New Zealand, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, the Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu support Japan since Japan agreed to increase financial aid to the region, even though some of these countries are very concerned with Japanese whaling in the region.

At the same time, the draft G4 reform proposals may leave over 1.2 billion Muslims worldwide (which is not limited only in the Middle East, and includes areas from West Africa to Southeast Asia) without any permanent representation on the UN security council. This is a highly controversial issue within the Islamic world and would adversely impact the UN's credibility in portions of the Middle East and in the Islamic world. In June 2005, the foreign ministers of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) called for a permanent Muslim seat on the UN Security Council. Recent resistance to the reform draft proposals emanating from the G4 states can be attributed in part to this highly sensitive issue. The US and several Western states have objected to any proposal that gives new members any veto powers, and, within the African Union, Egypt has led resistance to a proposal by Nigeria to adopt a version of the G4 proposals that removes the right of veto for new members, and may enable the creation of a reformed council that does not have any permanent members with a predominantly Muslim identity.

Another reason given in opposition to the inclusion of an Islamic nation is the religious aspect to which it is linked. Other religious nations might also request to be provided with permanent membership in the name of religion, nations with large populations of Buddhists, Hindus, Jews, Sikhs, etc.

It has also been suggested that an African nation be given a seat on the Security Council, with Egypt, Nigeria and South Africa being the most likely contenders. Currently, no country in Africa has a permanent seat on the Security Council and this is seen as a major reason behind the push to have an African nation be given one. There are indeed several popular reasons why Africa has a good chance of gaining a Security Council membership:

- Africa is the second-largest and second most populous continent behind Asia (in which Russia and China already have seats and Japan and India are both petitioning for one).
- *Africa has more United Nations members than any other continent.*
- Africa, as a whole, is seen as militarily non-threatening.

- It currently has the support of most of South America and India and Japan of the G4 nations. There are also calls by the UK, France, and China for more political representation from Africa.

Although no one nation from Africa has formally been put forward as a candidate for membership on the Security Council, Algeria, Egypt, Ethiopia, South Africa, and Nigeria are seen as the strongest choices. Algeria has gained a great deal of respect for its neutrality over the years and its great commitment to African development; Ethiopia was one of the founding members of the United Nations; South Africa has one of the largest and the most developed economies on the continent; and Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa and consistently contributes large numbers of troops to UN peacekeeping operations.

The UNSC "power of veto" is frequently cited as a major problem with the UN. By wielding their veto power (established by Chapter IV of the United Nations Charter), any of the UNSC's five permanent members can prevent the adoption of any (non-"procedural") UNSC draft resolution not to their liking. Even the mere threat of a veto may lead to changes in the text of a resolution, or it being withheld altogether (the so-called "pocket veto"). As a consequence, the power of veto often prevents the Council from acting to address pressing international issues, and affords the "P5" great influence within the UN institution as a whole.

For example, the Security Council passed no resolutions on most major Cold War conflicts, including the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, the Vietnam War, and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Resolutions addressing more current problems, such as the conflict between Israel and Palestine and Iran's suspected development of nuclear weapons, are also heavily influenced by the veto, actual or threatened. Additionally, the veto applies to the selection of the UN's Secretary-General, as well as any amendments to the UN Charter, giving the P5 great influence over these processes. Discussions on improving the UN's effectiveness and responsiveness to international security threats often include reform of the UNSC veto. Proposals include: limiting the use of the veto to vital national security issues; requiring agreement from multiple states before exercising the veto; and abolishing the veto entirely. However, any reform of the veto will be very difficult. Articles 108 and 109 of the United Nations Charter grant the P5 veto over any amendments to the Charter, requiring them to approve of any modifications to the UNSC veto power that they themselves hold.

Another frequent demand is that the UN should become "more democratic", and a key institution of a world democracy. This raises fundamental questions about the nature and role of the UN. The UN is not a world government, rather a forum for the world's sovereign states to debate issues and determine collective courses of action. A direct democracy would request the presidential election of the UN Secretary-General by direct vote of the citizens of the democratic countries (world presidentialism) as well as the General Assembly (just as cities, states and nations have their own representatives in many systems, who attend specifically to issues relevant to the given level of authority) and the International Court of Justice. Others have proposed a combination of direct and indirect democracy, whereby national governments might ratify the expressed will of the people for such important posts as an empowered World Court.

Besides, several provisions of the United Nations Charter are no longer relevant. *In Larger Freedom* proposed the removal of these provisions:

- Since there are no longer any trust territories, the Trusteeship Council no longer serves any purpose, and has not met since 1994. Thus, Chapter XIII of the Charter is no longer relevant, and can be deleted.

- Due to Cold War disagreements, the Military Staff Committee never succeeded in its intended purpose. Although it formally still meets fortnightly, it has been effectively inactive since 1948. Thus, article 47, and the references to it in articles 26, 45 and 46 can be deleted.
- The "enemy clauses" in articles 53 and 107 contain special provisions relating to the members of the Axis in World War II (Germany, Japan, etc.) These are no longer relevant; Japan in particular would like to see them removed.

There are also other provisions of the UN Charter that deal with transitional arrangements, and thus are now spent. For example, article 61(3) and article 109(3). However, *In Larger Freedom* does not contain any proposals with respect to these provisions.

Due to the difficulty in amending the Charter, it is unlikely that any of these spent provisions will be amended except as part of a package making substantive amendments, such as Security Council reform.

BALOCHISTAN, PROBLEMS AND SUGGESTIONS

OUTLINE

- A brief introduction
- British Era and Sandeman System
- Since 1947
- Reasons for the conflict
  - Provincial Autonomy & Ethnic Culture
  - Resource Exploitation
  - Deprivation and Lack of Development lag
  - Government's Neglect
  - Role of Sardars
  - Religious Extremism
- External Factors and Geo Politics
  - Iran's view
  - Afghanistan's view
  - Role of India
- History of the conflicts
- The Current Insurgency and Baloch Nationalism
- Insurgency and 'Geo-Politics of Energy Resources'
- Insurgent Groups in Balochistan
- Settlers issue & current situation in Balochistan
- Pakhtun Factor
- Liberation and Viability: Is independent Balochistan viable?
- Questions for Baloch Nationalists and Insurgents
- Balochistan Package
- Solutions
- Conclusion
- Aghaz-e-Huqooq-e-Balochistan Package in detail

ESSAY

Balochistan is the largest of Pakistan's provinces by the geographical area. It is the least populated and resource-rich province. It has common borders with all the three provinces viz. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) through Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA) in the north, Punjab in the extreme north east and Sindh in east. Balochistan has a long coastal line with Arabian Sea in the south. In the West, it has 814 km long border with Iran and finally in the west and north west it has a border of 1096 km with Afghanistan.

At 5 %, about 8.5 million Pakistanis reside in the province. Balochistan is home to roughly half-a-million ethnic Punjabis, or nearly six percent of its population, and to an even smaller percentage of Urdu-speakers. About 35 % of the population is Pashtun. Ethnic Baloch population (including Brahui) is about 6.8 million. Of these about 5 million reside in Balochistan accounting for about 55 % of its population. About 27 % Baloch live outside Balochistan, mainly in Sindh.

Balochistan history since 1947 represents an unending narrative of the incessant conflicts unfortunately. The long standing resentments dating back to its merger with Pakistan have led to the present crisis in the province. The issues and grievances, which gave rise to the previous conflicts and present crisis relate to demands and aspirations about the economic, ethnic and political rights of and for the people of the province. The reasons of the present crisis have been known to the politically aware people all along. But little or nothing has been done to address and resolve these matters by the successive governments. Consequently, the wounds have continued to fester and periodically given rise to bleeding insurgencies and revolts.

There have been five insurgencies in Balochistan since the creation of Pakistan. According to the official estimates, these have resulted in more than five thousand deaths among the insurgents and almost three thousand among the Pakistan army. The recent violence which started in 2005 took a serious turn at the end of year 2009 and became a potential threat to the stability of Pakistani state, as the insurgents spurred and inflamed, and in all likelihood aided and abetted by the outsider international players in the area, gave rise to the separatist movement in the province.

The present government has recently initiated certain measures to address these complaints and grievances. For past two years there is a democratic set up in the province. But the resentments still persists, as no practical steps have yet been taken to actually tackle the problems. According to the nationalist groups, the government has only provided a lip service to their problems so far. In fact, despite the promises to resolve the problems, the trust deficit between the nationalists and state has not narrowed. It is essential to understand that the crisis is grave and requires serious and urgent action by all stakeholders, at all levels in order to eradicate the root causes of the long standing conflict.

Conflicts in Balochistan historically have several underlying reasons. The fiercely independent Baloch sardars have resisted state interference, mainly to protect their continued influence and wealth and to seek rent from the state; the grievances of the masses relating to political, economic and cultural rights, that have given rise to nationalist movement; absence of problem resolution mechanisms, even in the democratic set ups; continued negligence of the well being of the masses that has been the hall mark, though out Pakistan since its creation; religious extremism, and perhaps most importantly continued mishandling of these issues by the Central governments, who on occasions have resorted to brute and unrestrained use of force.

The grievances of Baloch people are manifold. The martial policy of the centre in dealing with the recent insurgency has added fuel to the fire. The main complaint of the Baloch Nationalists has

always been that the provincial autonomy promised in the 1973 constitution has not been recognized and practically nonexistent till today. The Baloch people have demanded the right of self administration to the province through a process of complete decentralization of powers. Moreover, the silent but visible war by army and paramilitary in past few years has raised the level of resentment in ordinary Baloch. The action of the government against the Baloch nationalists has also been seen as the imperialism of the state. The setup of military cantonments was also seen as a way to suppress them. Balochistan like the other three provinces of Pakistan has its unique cultural identity. This, some nationalists complain, has not been given due representation in the centre. Therefore, whenever people from different ethnic groups feel their desertion on national levels, they feel being neglected and this creates frustration among such groups. Resultantly they resist any new ideas of development or modernized lifestyle due to the fear that they will lose their traditions and cultural identity.

Baloch nationalist's main gripe and grumble relates to Pakistan's domestic natural gas industry. They complain that the gas industry's well-paid managers and technicians were almost invariably drawn from outside Balochistan; local Baloch, inevitably viewed with some suspicion, were mainly employed in low-end jobs as day laborers. No efforts were made to remedy the shortage of technically skilled Baloch such as providing government funding of technical training institutions in Balochistan. However, the strongest dissatisfaction is about Balochistan's lopsidedly deficient share of revenues from the government's sale of natural gas. Balochistan receives proportionately only about one-fifth as much in royalty payments as the other two gas producing provinces. This means that poorest province actually subsidises the richer provinces. The nationalists also maintain that historically very little of the huge earnings of the central government in natural gas revenues was ever returned to the province in the form of development expenditures.

The complaints and issues of the local people in Balochistan, about the situation of development or the lack of it, are absolutely genuine beyond doubt. There is no doubt that the province has been neglected for six decades and has taken a back seat in the minds of the ruling elite. The basic facilities of life including health, education, communication sources and infrastructure are in poor condition. Balochistan is much less developed, and in several aspects least developed province according to the statistics of Economic Survey of Pakistan. It has the lowest literacy rate among both males and females, the lowest ranking in the Gender Parity Index (GPI) and the smallest presence of private educational institutes in the country, according to the recently issued National Economic Survey (NES). Poor transport and communication infrastructure is a big hurdle in the progress of the province. Illiteracy, injustice, oppression of women, ignorance of the individual rights are the socio-political evils that prevail. The Social Policy Development Centre 2005 report discovered, that the percentage of the population living in a high degree of deprivation stands highest in Balochistan as compared to the other provinces [88 percent in Balochistan, 51 percent in the NWFP, 49 percent in Sindh and 25 percent in Punjab]. According to poverty-related reports, the percentage of the population living below the poverty line stands at 63 percent in Balochistan.

This again, is the highest among all other provinces [26 percent in Punjab, 29 percent in the NWFP and 38 percent in Sindh]. These factors are mutually reinforcing and continue to aggravate the situation. The province has smallest number of educational institutions. The resources wealth and developmental projects have never benefited the people of Balochistan. The example is the Natural Gas of the city of Sui. Huge royalties are paid to Sardar of Sui, but the money fails to reach the general public of the province. The federal government gives only a fraction back to Balochistan from what it earns through gas extracted from the province. And that fraction too is not properly planned and spent. There is no disagreement that over the years, the income from natural resources in the

province has neither been properly paid nor fairly distributed and beyond doubt, the common Balochi people have not benefited from it.

Gwadar is a classic example of development project that has suffocated in the clutches of a land-grab mafia of Pakistan. The Baloch nationalists claim that it would ultimately favour the Punjabis and not Balochis. They also allege the government that these projects have largely bypassed local communities and have been set up to marginalize them. A senior journalist Yar Mohammad Badini speaking at the recently held seminar in Quetta, asserted that Balochistan had been "rewarded" with five military operations over the past sixty years in return of the massive resources it has provided to the whole country in the energy sector. He called for an end to the economic exploitation of Balochistan which he insisted it was the biggest source of discontent and disillusionment in the volatile province.

The central government's inability and reluctance to identify and tackle the problems for a long period is the major reason for the prevailing situation. But the government in Balochistan has also never represented the genuine interests of the people of Balochistan. The elected representatives of the province have also shown an apolitical and non democratic attitude instead of highlighting the genuine needs and interests of their people. Conversely, the people's representatives supported the criminal's activities in the region through dictating their orders to the local police. Pakistani central governments, on the other hand, have attempted to establish a strong centralized state. And in the process they have neglected the basic development rights of people and their peculiarities. The checkered history of Pakistani democratic government has also proved a hindrance in the way of addressing the grievances politically; instead the army rule has almost always favored the military solution over political ones.

It was this attitude that led Musharraf to declare about the insurgent that ' they will not know what hit them'. How sad a commentary on a Nations's fate that such remarks are made by the president of the country. In his time, Islamabad adopted a 'virtually zero tolerance' model, allegedly consisting of psychological warfare, public diplomacy, political harassment and intimidation; decapitation of separatist leadership; co-option of tribal leadership, increased deployment of security forces and reliance on military repression. The failure of the model is clear as a day light. The harassment and hounding of the Baloch, without any tangible benefits to the masses on the ground, only led to increase in the popular support and helping to prove the claim made by the insurgents that the government's real aim is to marginalize them and to reduce them to second class citizenship in their own land.

There is certainly weight in the argument that the federal government in Pakistan has neglected the development of Balochistan, but equal responsibility lies with the Sardars of Balochistan who enjoy immense power in their tribes. These very sardars have been part of the ruling elite in the province, both under the military and civilian rulers.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the same Baloch leaders have censured the development plans which were likely to bring immense opportunities for the progress of their people. Even the horrific human rights atrocities taking place in the province have been defended by the tribal chiefs in the name of their cultural norms. Prof. Mukhtar Ali Naqvi writes that the demands of a "Fair Deal" have also been set forth by these sardars and not by the elected members. They are unwilling to come into the main stream society, have monopoly over the laws and regulations of the state, while they themselves sit in provincial and national parliaments, yet they don't work for the development of their own people. Through brutal customs, and practices, they target their own people. Their opposition to the development plans stems from the apprehensions that employment opportunities and consequent change will liberate people from their bondage.

The state of deprivation has made the people of the province vulnerable to the aggravation and militant tendency promoting religious extremism in Balochistan. Lack of education and awareness, sense of deprivation and acute poverty gave space to terrorist activities by both external and internal enemies. Abdul Rahim Ziaratwal, former parliamentary leader of the Pakhtunwa Milli Awami Party also alleges that government itself promotes the extremist activities in the province. He pointed out when speaking to a seminar that "This policy had previously radicalized the Pashutn areas of the province but now it had also expanded to the Bravispeaking belt of Balochistan where scores of young people were being inclined towards sectarian militancy and violence." Despite being a major factor, the backwardness and development lag is not the sole explanation of the insurgency in Balochistan.

The question is that what is the role of international players in Balochistan quagmire and what is at stake for these countries? Balochistan is situated at a geostrategic location. It provides corridor to the warm waters of Indian Ocean, overlooks strait of Hormuz and major trade and oil routes. It is also full of natural resources, including gas, oil and precious and rare minerals. One of the objectives for such interference is to destabilize Balochistan by stimulating insurgency and creating violations for its detachment from Pakistan. Gwadar has a key strategic position for shipping gas and oil from Turkmenistan to Arabian Sea via Afghanistan towards western shores. US sees Gwadar as port way to the land route through Balochistan into Southern Afghanistan. China is interested in a gas pipeline from Iran through Pakistan into Western China, which US will not likely to accept. US wants to secure the Indian Ocean and its strategic routes, and Gwadar lies at the opening of Strait of Hormuz through which over 40% of world oil passes.

Iran views it unfavorably, since it does not want Gwadar to become prominent and Chabahar to be sidelined, especially since Iran is isolated in the world at the moment. Iran has huge reserves of gas and it would like to extend the trade with India. Iran is also afraid of Jandullah's (the terrorist group of CIA) covert operations against Iran, from Balochistan. Russia would not like trade from Central Asia shifting southwards and therefore would like to keep Afghanistan and Balochistan turbulent.

Afghanistan's soil has been used again and again to cause trouble inside Pakistan. Currently, BLA is reported to be operating from Kandahar in Afghanistan. BLA enjoys support from Indian RAW in terms of finances, logistics, and weapons. In a recent report, Christine Fair of RAND Corporation says" Kabul 's motivations for encouraging these activities are as obvious as India 's interest in engaging in them.

India is at the moment chief regional ally of US, and NATO. India believes that Pakistan is at the brink of break up and India must focus on building its relationship with Central Asia, Iran, and Afghanistan, and capture oil and gas reserves from Central Asia and Iran, through Afghanistan and Pakistan. India also believes that an independent Balochistan will likely become a proxy of Iran, India and Afghanistan.

Controversies involving the areas comprising Balochistan date back to the establishment of the Durand Line in 1893 that divided Pashtun and Baloch tribes living in Afghanistan from those living in what later became Pakistan. Afghanistan vigorously protested the inclusion of Pashtun and Baloch areas within Pakistan without providing the inhabitants with an opportunity for self-determination. Since 1947, this problem has led to incidents along the border, with extensive disruption of normal trade patterns. The most serious crisis lasted from September 1961 to June 1963, when diplomatic, trade, transit, and consular relations between the countries were suspended. Baloch nationalists demanding greater political rights, autonomy and control over their natural resources, have led four previous insurgencies - in 1948, 1958-59, 1962-63 and 1973-77. The fifth conflict between the Baloch nationalists and the Centre started in 2005 and this time the insurgents have gone a step further and demanded for seccession.

Divided in the nineteenth century among Iran, Afghanistan, and British India, the Baloch found their traditional nomadic life frustrated by the presence of national boundaries and the extension of central administration over their lands. Moreover, many of the most militant Baloch nationalists were also vaguely Marxist-Leninist and willing to risk Soviet protection for an autonomous Balochistan.

In 1947, when India and Pakistan eventually gained independence from the British, princely states were given the choice of either joining Pakistan or India or being independent. Initially Khan of Kalat, Mir Ahmed Yar Khan declared Kalat's independence. However, in 1948 the princely state of Kalat was annexed to Pakistan. According to the then ruler of Kalat, the agreement had been to accept the unique status of the state by incorporating it into Pakistan as a sovereign, independent and autonomous unit. But he then signed an accession agreement ending Kalat's de facto independence, which he later claimed he had only done under duress. However, Khan was never an absolute monarch. He was required to act under the provisions of Rawaj and was undoubtedly under the influence of British empire.

In 1948, Prince Karim Khan, the younger brother of Khan, decided to conduct a rebellion and guerrilla warfare against the Pakistan army basing himself in Afghanistan. It is said that he had a personal grievance in that Pakistan recognized Sardar Gichki as Makrans' ruler instead of accepting him as a governor. This ended with the arrest of the prince, who was imprisoned in Quetta Jail. He was later sentenced to ten years of rigorous imprisonment.

After this Nawab Nowroz Khan (1958) took up arms in resistance to the One Unit policy. He and his followers were charged with treason and arrested and confined in Hyderabad jail. Five of his family members (sons and nephews) were subsequently hanged. Nawab Nowroz Khan later died in captivity. Later on the more serious insurgency happened in 1963-69 led by Sher Mohammad Bijarani Marri against he establishment of Pakistan Army's garrisons in the troubled areas of Balochistan . And the fourth conflict in 1973-77 was led by Nawab Khair Baksh Marri. Undoubtedly, this was provoked by Mr Bhutto's arrogance and federal impatience, high handedness and undemocratic conduct.

The current scenario for the conflict in Balochistan started building up when the federal authorities in Pakistan started developing Gwadar Port with road and rail links. The development projects of the coastal highway and the Gwadar port have been also opposed tooth and nail by Baloch nationalists. Balochi resistance to defy government's efforts to start Gwadar was based on the charge that it will change Balochi ethnic culture. Balochi disaffection grew more in the aftermath of the attack on the Taliban in Afghanistan and the establishment of US bases in Pasni, Gwadar, Dalbandin and Jacobabad in Sindh. This was not so much because of the US military presence, but because the then administration decided to establish some army cantonments in Balochistan. During the eight years of Musharraf's military rule in Pakistan, the absence of political process that is necessary to deal with the insurgencies resulted in the further alienation of even moderate Baloch nationalist from the Federation of Pakistan. It shut the doors of negotiation process with the Baloch Leaders. This conflict became more intense, in 2006 when Nawab Bugti, the Baloch tribal leader and ex chief minister and governor of Balochistan was killed in an army operation. He had been accused by Pakistan's government for series of bomb blasts, killings of his own people and mainly the rocket attack on the then President of Pakistan. He was lauded as a leader of Baloch by the nationalists who had died fighting for their cause and was turned into a hero.

During this time the political parties did not play their role to raise the issues of deprivation and neglect at the serious level. This was not limited to the ruling parties; unfortunately opposition also ignored the Balochistan issue. In the All Parties Conference that was held in 2007, to plan a collective

line of action to deal with the different problems faced by Pakistan, the Balochistan problem was not even included in the agenda. Close analysis tell us that the Baloch nationalist movement is not a unitary force that it may appear. There is not much love lost between the leading tribes involved in the insurgency. There is no single voice which can claim to speak for all. There is no coherent second tier middle class leadership, despite increased support in the Baloch areas. In fact, the middle classes may still be on the side of moderate federally inclined Baloch politicians. For some Baloch nationalism only means tribal identity such as Marri or Bugti, at best. Some Baloch nationalists demand complete independence. Most, still believe that 1973 Constitution is the most workable basis for a 'reconstructed and strengthened' federalism, and all they want is greater autonomy.

Therefore, while it is true that anti-state violence has been the chosen tactic of some, for the great majority, federal framework stays the chosen method to address grievances. The danger as we mentioned earlier are two-fold. The educated middle class in Baloch towns has started rallying behind nationalists and even Sardars. These sardars will never deliver but like all other Pakistanis, they are being fooled into utopian idealism. Second various vested local, national and international interests are trying to take advantage of this situation. Steven Metz has persuasively argued that contemporary insurgency has undergone fundamental change in its strategic context, structure, and dynamics. He asserted that this requires Pakistan's federal and provincial governments to adopt "a very different way of thinking about counterinsurgency. The real threat posed by insurgency, he observes, is the sustained conflict leading to political destabilization and related socio political pathologies. 'Protracted conflict," he declares, "not insurgent victory, is the threat.

To summarise the nationalist's complaints are mix of old and new. Older complaints consist of lack of autonomy, exploitation of resources and lack of development. In addition since then, the new complaints are that hundreds of people are missing in action and there has been a silent war that nationalists allege state is waging upon them. Above analysis make two things absolutely clear. One that there is virtually no chance that the problems confronting Islamabad arising from the current resurgence of Baloch nationalism can be swept aside. While the actual scale of the rebellion may be a matter of considerable controversy, the danger is present and clear; and the reasons underlying it are genuine and real. Second, there is considerable avenue of hope with majority still willing to work within the state framework and through political methods.

The remedy is to get the ordinary Balochs out of militant mindset and back to political grounds. As long as Pakistan has gas supply, there will always be a flash point for a sharp controversy between Islamabad and Baloch nationalists. Therefore, the security of this supply for Pakistan is top of the agenda. Baloch insurgency directly threatens this energy security. Robert Wirsing points out that this context is related to Baloch nationalism in at least three ways. One is that Balochistan is rich in energy resources. The most persistent and long-standing grievance that nationalists have is that these resources have been exploited by the central government without adequate compensation to the province. Second, Balochistan is a transit route for major proposed natural gas pipelines from either Iran or Turkmenistan to Pakistan and from there potentially to India. Baloch militant attacks are a major threat to any such undertaking. Third, Gwadar is the site of a major port facility and energy hub.

There has been a series of target killings of settlers. Nationalist militant group in Balochistan are targeting and killing 'settler' educationists, doctors, professionals and such like. The people from other provinces who had come to work as low earning wage workers are being forced to migrate. This violence is pushing the province to further backwardness through skill and brain drain. These settlers in Balochistan all over Pakistan stand for the ethnic unity of all communities who are being targeted to destabilize the provincial capital.

In general, people are terrorized to the extent that they do not go out freely. Women and children are scared and feel themselves insecure. The major fallout of Baloch militants' violence to be mass migration from Balochistan of Punjabi- and Urdu-speaking people, who mostly live in Quetta. The already deprived province will not be able to fill the gap. Recently, over 70 professors in Balochistan University applied to be relieved so that they can work in other provinces, following the brutal killing of Prof Nazima Talib. In other words if this happens, Balochistan University will simple shut down. The insurgent groups and their supporters are brain-washing the general people through negative portrayal of the role of state against Balochi people.

The recently announced Aghaz-e-Huqooq-e-Balochistan package and the passage of the 18th amendment in the constitution include most of the measures for reviving a good relationship of the state with Baloch people. But to eliminate the trust deficit of Baloch people the most important thing for the government is to act now for the implementation of the devised measures.

The package has five dimensions. These relate to actions and measures in Constitutional, Political, Administrative and Economic matters and finally the Monitoring Mechanism. Here is the summary:

The basic points of this package include withdrawal of Army from Sui and Kohlu area, halting the cantonments in the areas, replacing of Army by F.C; Inquiry in the death of Nawab Akbar Bugti and also into the murder of other Balochistan leaders such as Lala Munir or Ghulam Muhammad and fact finding in the ongoing current target killing in the province. It also includes settling the royalty issue worth Rs 120 billion which goes back to 1954 and will be paid on a period of 12 years, and a better formula development in the current NFC award.

The release of missing persons in Balochistan, bringing the missing persons to courts, especially the ones that are involved in crimes would be provided with lawyers in assistance by the government, the issue of missing persons will be sorted within 7 days of the bill. It also includes the working and mechanism for the development of the Gwadar Development Authority; which will be under the supervision of the Chief Minister and seven other members from the province will form the board of governors that will nominate a Chairman. The package also announces the creation of extra 5,000 jobs for the Balochistan people in the government, semi-government and other such organizations.A free economic zone will be created in Gawadar; where all the posts will be filled by the locals from 1 to 22 Balochistan: Problems and Solutions 16 scales on merit. And for the development of the Gawadar most of the local qualified contractors will be given preference. There shall be uniform price of gas throughout the country for calculation of the gas development surcharge. Special incentives would be given to the local tribes in the Kohlu district to facilitate the exploration of the gas in the area. The federal government would provide one billion rupees for rehabilitation and settlement of the IDPs from Dera Bugti. Unfortunately this much awaited package did not bring in any immediate relief to the people struck with turmoil and strife. It took government good one and a half year to bring this out and yet within 24 hours it had been rejected by most of the Nawabs and local leaders of the Balochistan.

Besides, the government has to adopt a multi-pronged anti-insurgency strategy to placate the Baloch poeple. The use of force will not lead to a peaceful solution. History is witness to the fact that suppression further ignites such movements. The situation calls for strongest possible political will to deliver and implement the solution among all concerned. It is true that insurgency still does not command the majority support. This fact must be capitalized on. By taking serious and urgent socio economic measure and by providing justice and fair play as basis of governance, the back of the insurgency can be broken. There is still an attitude among the *Pakistanis establishment led by military*

that insurgency depends on some individuals. This is no longer the case and grass root support has widened in past few years. This can only be countered by urgent and fair governance.

This can be achieved if the federal government, in conjunction with the provincial government, applies the will to ensure that the legitimate rights of the people of Balochistan are granted and delivered immediately.

In this regard following steps can be considered;

1. Government should draw out a clear cut policy giving due share in natural resources to the province.
2. The revenue from the developmental projects in Balochistan must be spent on its development.
3. Development work should be carried out in the fields of infrastructure development, water for irrigation and drinking, education, health, energy and productive economic activity.
4. The delivery system of basic social services like health, education, water and sanitation needs to be strengthened and easily accessible to common people.
5. Royalties, duties, development surcharges and other levies owed to the province by the centre must be paid on fair basis.
6. Pakistan Army should also make its image better in that province. The government must implement the plans of canceling the constructing cantonments away from the border region. There must be no unnecessary presence of military forces in the province.
7. Pakistan Army should run a recruitment drive for Baloch.
8. On the political level, the government must involve the political and nationalist groups in the mainstream politics. The Baloch leaders must be engaged by the political leadership to neutralise the extremist/separatist segments of their groups.
9. The Baloch must be given due representation in state institutions.
10. Balochistan's cities, towns and villages should be given priority and preference for Sui gas, minerals, and other basic necessities of life.
11. Judiciary should play its role- SC must act as to ensure justice in the province and the provision of basic national rights to the Baloch people in capacity of equal Pakistanis.
12. Action is needed on the missing persons form federal executive and judiciary
13. Peace and rule of law must be ensured. As an ancillary point this must not be used as an excuse to perpetrate state sanctioned crimes.
14. Governance and Economic Management Programmes should be developed and implemented.
15. Budgetary controls should be given to Local Bodies, with nominated Official in order to ensure the benefits reaches at the grass root levels.
16. Provincial government should tackle, education, health, housing, law and order, security, communication, roads and transport as top most priority.
17. The long-held fear of the Baloch people that investors may take their resources away needs to be addressed by the safeguard investment policies of assurance by the government.
18. The Baloch Nationalists, if sincere with a peaceful resolution of the years old conflict, must negotiate the issues with the political leadership in order to resolve the conflicts.
19. By creating major opportunities—specifically, by turning Balochistan into an important energy conduit in the region—to address Baloch nationalist demands in a positive and mutually acceptable manner.

The central government and the establishment should stop seeing this as a foreign instigated phenomenon only, as was done in the case of East Pakistan. This mind set will surely lead to more destruction. The need now is to acknowledge the grievances and deal with them directly, immediately

and effectively in a political framework delivered by transparent and fully empowered political forces. While there can be an opinion about whether such a solution is a tall order or not, there can be no two opinions that this is the only way out of the Baloch insurgency. On their part the moderate Baloch forces need to create clear blue water between them and nationalist insurgents and need to challenge the militants' search for an "ideal Balochistan" where ethnic minorities would have no place or which brings death and destruction at an unimaginable scale just to satisfy egos of certain arrogant sardars or fulfil dreams of certain international powers.

The history of relationship between centre and Balochistan shows a long story of political inaptitude, economic exploitation and unfulfilled promises. State, being the major runner of the national affairs, is to be held responsible more than anyone else for causing the crisis. Centre in its successive policies and measures have overlooked the sociological and anthropological peculiarities of Balochistan people and harsh economic realities under which they pass their lives and which over 60 years have given birth to deprivation. Above all, the negligence of the development needs created massive despair in Balochistan people.

In Short there are three components to the comprehensive solution to Balochistan problem.

Firstly, recognition of the legitimate demands of Baloch people and assessment of the ground reality;

Secondly, developments of sound policies and plans that would address the economic deprivation and sociopolitical issues and empower people;

Thirdly, immediate, direct, accountable and transparent delivery through provincial and local governors.

For further detail: Balochistan Package

The full text of Balochistan package as presented in Parliament on Nov 24, 2009.

Preamble

"CONSCIOUS, that the Provinces have a sense of depravation, in the political and economic structures of the Federation;

Recalling, that the provisions of the 1973 Constitution in particular relating to the Federation – Province relationship have been circumvented;

Stating that the financial assistance given by the present federal government in terms of Rs. 4.6 billion PSDP support, Rs. 2.8 billion paid as arrears of royalty for Uch – pending since 1995, Rs. 17.5 billion overdraft of Balochistan written off, realizing that this is not a substitute to provincial autonomy;

Acknowledging, that the question of provincial autonomy needs to be revisited and the ownership of the Provinces over their resources reasserted in the Constitution; MINDFUL, of the tumultuous history of the Province of Balochistan in the affairs of the Federation; PLACING ON Record that the present Federal Government has withdrawn cases and released political workers and helped in identifying the places of detention and release of some of the missing persons;

Determined, to correct the wrongs of history, by conferring the political, economic and cultural rights of the Provinces, so that the Federation may blossom, and; RECALLING, the documents made from time to time, namely The Shaheed Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto Reconciliation Committee Papers, the Interim Reports of the Wasim Sajjad and Mushahid Hussain Sayed committees of the

Parliamentary Committee on Balochistan, headed by Chaudhary Shujaat proposals made by the Chief Secretary Balochistan and the proposals of Mian Raza Rabbani.

The following "Proposals" are made:

A. Constitution related matters

1. Constitutional Reform: In terms of the Resolutions passed by Parliament the Speaker has constituted a Parliamentary Committee. The said Committee has commenced work of considering various amendments in the Constitution, including on provincial autonomy, this should be immediately addressed;
2. Constitutional Reform: The quantum, form and scope of provincial autonomy will be determined by the Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional Reforms which represents all shades of political opinion in Parliament. The following provisions of the Constitution on provincial autonomy are under consideration of the Committee; (i) Deletion of the Concurrent List from the Fourth Schedule of the Constitution; (ii) Deletion of the Police Order, 2002 and The Balochistan Local Government Ordinance 2001 from the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution; (iii) Effective implementation of Article 153 of the Constitution, Council of Common Interests; (iv) Implementation of Article 160 of the Constitution, NFC Award; (v) Implementation of Articles 154, 155, 156, 157, 158 and 159 of the Constitution.
3. Restructuring of the NFC Award Criteria: In the past the formula was based on population. This has been changed and other criteria such as inverse population ratio, backwardness, poverty and resource generation need to be taken into consideration.

B. Politically related matters

4. Release of Political Workers: The Federal Government in consultation with the Provincial Government should immediately release all political workers, except those charged under heinous crimes;
5. Political Dialogue: Immediate to the acceptance of all the proposals contained herein, initiation of a political dialogue with all major stakeholders in the political spectrum of the Province, to bring them into the mainstream politics.
6. Return of Exiles: The political exiles who return to Pakistan will be facilitated. (Except those involved in acts of terrorism).
7. Provincial Assembly Resolutions: The unanimously passed Resolutions of the Assembly from 2002 till date related to the Province be implemented within the legal framework of the Constitution.
8. Local Government: The Balochistan Local Government Ordinance needs to be amended by the Provincial Government keeping in view the administrative needs of the Province.

C. Administratively related matters

9. Operations by Federal Agencies: The Federal Government should immediately review the role of Federal Agencies in the Province and stop all such operations that are not related to the pursuit of fighting terrorism;
10. Construction of Cantonments: The Federal Government should announce, that the presence of the army in Sui will be withdrawn and replaced by the FC in pursuit of peace in the present situation. Proposals should not be formulated for the construction of new Cantonments except in frontier areas, wherever required;

11. Commission: A Commission should be constituted in respect of the missing persons. The Commission should be headed by sitting member of the Superior Judiciary from Balochistan, including the Federal Defence, Interior Ministers and the Home Minister of the Province. The proceedings of such a Commission shall be held in camera.

12. Missing Persons: The names of missing persons be identified and following actions be taken immediately, after verification, in any case, if they are found to be in custody. (i) Those persons against whom there are no charges be released. (ii) Those persons against whom there are charges be brought before a Court of competent jurisdiction within seven days for trial (effective from the date of promulgation of Commission). (iii) Such persons be allowed legal consul of their choice, the Government should assist them in this regard in accordance with law. (iv) Family members of such persons be informed accordingly and allowed visiting rights.

13. Judicial Inquiry: Judicial inquiry by the superior judiciary be ordered by the Federal Government to inquire into : a. Murder of Baloch political workers namely Ghulam Muhammad, Lala Munir and Munir Ahmed. b.Target killing in the Province.

14. Nawab Akbar Bugti Shaheed: A fact finding Commission headed by a retired Judge of the Supreme/High Court be constituted, to determine the circumstances leading to the death of Nawab Akbar Bugti Shaheed.

15. New Army Cantonments: Construction of new Cantonments in Sui and Kohlu be stopped for the time being. Army will be withdrawn from Sui after handing over the duties to FC. FC will also takeover the already constructed Cantonment at Sui.

16. Conversion Of "B" Areas Into "A" Areas: In view of the decision of the Provincial Government, the policy of conversion of "B" areas into "A" areas may be reviewed from time to time. Urban areas may have regular police.

17. The Role Of Civil Armed Forces: (i) Frontier Corps; The role of the FC in law enforcement shall be under the Chief Minister of the Province. The powers conferred under the Customs Act shall be withdrawn, (ii) Coast Guard; The CG should perform its primary duty of checking smuggling of arms and narcotics along the coast and the border. The check posts established beyond their territorial limits as prescribed under the law shall be dismantled. An exercise of delimitation of the border areas needs to be undertaken by the Federal Government, Provincial Government and the Frontier Corp to give effect to the aforesaid.

18. Check Posts: The various check posts established by the civil armed forces and other related agencies, other than border areas should be in accordance with the directions of the Provincial Government.

19. Judicial Inquiry: There should be a judicial enquiry by the Superior judiciary into the allotment of land at Gwadar.

20. Flood Relief: Some monies are due on the Federal Government for the flood affected people of Balochistan, these amounts should be released.

21. Education: Balochistan be given a special quota of scholarships by the Higher Education Commission so that students of the Province can pursue studies leading up to local or foreign Masters and PhDs.

D. Economically related matters

22. Rationalization of the Royalty Formula:

    (i) Rationalization of the Royalty formula and the Gas Development Surcharge have been done,

(ii) (it) The concept of Public-Private ownership in the areas of a District granted for exploration should be followed. Where contracts are awarded, the said District should be given 15% of revenue to be received by the Provincial Government,

(iii) Due representation should be given to the Province on the Boards of the PPL; OGDC and Sui Southern Gas,

(iv) Distribution companies should be obligated under contract/law to provide on priority basis gas to the District where it is explored,

(v) In case of a successful find the Federal Government shall spend an amount equivalent to 10% of the net profits on development projects in the area. The ascertainment of profits shall be open to scrutiny by independent/third party auditors,

(vi) The Federal Government has released the accrued Production Bonus to the Districts producing oil and gas. This policy will be strictly implemented.

23. Mega Projects: (i) All new megs projects to be initiated with the consent and approval of the Provincial Government. The share of the Province in its profits/benefits to be assured in the contact/agreement, (ii) The concept of Public-Private ownership in such projects to be followed where ever possible, (iii) In Gwadar there shall be a free economic zone and political activities in the said zone may be regulated by an appropriate law to be framed in consultation with all the stakeholders, (iv) In Gwadar all, or as far as possible, appointments in BS- 1 to 16, should be from the local population, (v) In Gwadar the local youth should be provided technical training and absorbed in GPA, GDA and Special Economic Zone, (vi) Preference should be given to the qualified local contractors while awarding contracts related to the Port, (vii) Compensation and reallocation of all those fishermen, who are being displaced due to the Gwadar Port must be finalized immediately, (ix) The two jetties agreed to be constructed for the fishermen on the Eastern and Western Bays be constructed, (x) A fisheries training center as required to be established under the 9th Five Year Plan for Balochistan be constructed, (xi) A portion of the revenue collected by the Gwadar Port Authority be allocated for the development of the Province, (xii) The Chief Minister shall be the Ex-Officio Chairman of the Gwadar Development Authority and there shall be seven members from the Province on the Board of Directors, (xiii) The Provincial Government of Balochistan will nominate a person duly qualified to be the Chairman of the Gwadar Development Authority.

24. SUI: (i) There should be a special development package for the area. (ii) The armed forces should be systematically withdrawn from the area.

25. Employment Opportunities: (a) The Federal Government will create, with immediate effect, five thousand additional jobs for the Province, (b) (i) The quota for the province as prescribed in the rules/law for employment in Government (specially foreign service), semi government, autonomous/semi autonomous, corporations and bodies must be strictly complied with. Deficiency if any, needs to be met in a proactive manner, (ii) The Overseas Employment Foundation needs to facilitate the recruitment of skilled or unskilled labour for employment aboard, (iii) The local people living along the coast who meet the criteria should be given jobs in the Coast Guards, (iv) The monitoring of the aforesaid shall be the responsibility of the Standing Committee for Establishment, Senate of Pakistan.

26. Gas Development Surcharge: The Federal Government agrees to pay the arrears of Gas Development Surcharge from 1954 to 1991. This is a total amount of Rs. 120 billion payable in 12 years.

27. Ownership in oil and gas companies: In Organizations such as PPL, OGDCL and Sui Southern the Province will be able to purchase up to 20% of the right shares when offered in the open market.

28. Sandak Project: The Federal Government from its 30% shares in the project will immediately give 20% to the Province. On completion of the project and when the foreign company withdraws the project shall be owned exclusively by the Province.

29. Uniform Price of Gas: There shall be a uniform price of gas throughout the country for the purpose of calculation of GDS.

30. Fishing Trawlers: Fishing trawlers should be restricted to the authorized limits of 33 kilometers from the coast. This will help promote the small fishermen.

31. Kohlu District: Special incentives should be given to the local tribes to facilitate exploration in the area which continues to be closed due to security concerns.

32. Poverty Alleviation: In all poverty alleviation schemes, the allocation of the Province should be proportional to the percentage of people living below the poverty line.

33. Profit Sharing In Existing Agreements: (i) It is proposed that existing agreements on projects such as SANDAK, REKODIC and others where agreements have already been negotiated, the Federal Government may reconsider the agreements concerning the sharing of income, profits or royalty between the Federal Government and the Provincial Government.

34. Dera Bugti Internally Displaced Persons: The Federal Government for the rehabilitation and settlement of the IDPs shall provide a sum of Rs. one billion.

35. Water Management: The Federal Government shall immediately undertake schemes which include the construction of small dams throughout the province but particularly in the districts of Quetta, Pasheen, Qila Abdullah, Qita Saifullah, Zhob etc.

E. Monitoring mechanism

36. Parliamentary Committee on National Security: It is proposed that the Federal Government, Provincial Government and other Departments/agencies involved in the implementation of the proposals shall brief the Parliamentary Committee on National Security on the status of implementation on a monthly bases.

37. Parliament: The Federal Government and the Provincial Government shall every three months lay a report before both Houses of Parliament, separately, on the state of implementation of the proposals. The two Houses shall separately allocate appropriate time for discussion on the said report.

38. The Standing Committee on Establishment Of The Senate Of Pakistan: The Standing Committee on Establishment of the Senate of Pakistan shall present a report every three months on Item No. 25. The Chairman Senate, after the report has been laid in the Senate, transmit the same to the Speaker, National Assembly of Pakistan, for information of that House.

39. Certification: The Federal Minister for Inter Provincial Coordination shall at the end of each financial year certify to both the Houses of Parliament separately, the amount of monies spent for the implementation of these proposals.

FOREIGN POLICY OF PAKISTAN

OUTLINE

- 1947-53: Establishing relations with the world
  - Foundations of the Foreign Policy
  - Relations with India
  - Relations with Afghanistan
  - Security imperatives
  - Relations with USA and U.S.S.R.
  - Relations with Muslim Countries
- 1953-62: Alignment with the West
  - Alignment with the West
  - Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement
  - SEATO
  - The Baghdad Pact / CENTO
  - Defense and economic assistance from the US
  - Cost of alignment with the West
  - Relations with China
- 1962-71: Transition
  - Rethinking about the Alignment Policy
  - Improving relations with the Soviet Union
  - Improving relations with China
  - Diminishing ties with the US
  - Pluralistic perspective
  - Relations with India
  - Crisis in East Pakistan and international response
- 1972-79: Bilateralism and Nonalignment
  - Pak-India Relations: towards improvement
  - Strengthening of ties with major powers
  - Nuclear technology and relations with the US
  - Pakistan and the Muslim World

- 1980-90: Afghanistan and Partnership with the United States
  - Soviet invasion of Afghanistan
  - Revival of Pakistan-US Relations
  - Pakistan-China Relations
  - Pakistan and the OIC
  - Pakistan-India: a policy of dialogues
  - The Geneva Accords on Afghanistan
  - Post-withdrawal Problems
- 1990-2001: Post Cold War Era and Pakistan's Dilemmas
  - Another drift in Pak-US Relations
  - Continuation of the Afghanistan problem
  - Insurgency in Kashmir
  - Going nuclear
- 2001 Onwards: Counter Terrorism
  - September 11 and fight against Terrorism
  - Increased US Support
  - Détente with India
  - Pakistan's Relations with China and Russia
  - Muslim World and Pakistan
  - Transfer of Nuclear Technology
  - Real Challenges
- Issues in foreign policy of Pakistan
- Concluding Observations

ESSAY

Pakistan is a major participant in the global efforts to curb transnational terrorism initiated after the terrorist attacks in the United States in September 2001. This enhanced Pakistan's strategic relevance for the major powers, especially the United States, which cultivated Pakistan for combating terrorism and ensuring peace and stability in the post-Taliban Afghanistan. They also wanted that the Taliban and Al-Qaeda activists, formerly based in Afghanistan, did not create safe havens in Pakistani territory with the support of their Pakistani sympathesizers.

Pakistan has not always been so relevant to global politics. Its strategic relevance has varied over time which had implications for Pakistan's role at the international level and the foreign policy options available to its policy makers. This briefing paper examines the changing patterns of Pakistan's foreign policy and how its position and role in international and regional politics has varied over time.

Pakistan recognizes that it is neither possible nor advisable to stay in isolation in the present day interdependent and complex international system. It needs to interact with other states, international and regional organizations and supranational actors in order to protect and promote its national interests and sovereign identity. Pakistan also collaborates with other states in order to cope with the issues of global dimensions like environment, population, poverty and underdevelopment, energy, human migrations and refugees, drugs, and terrorism.

Despite pursuing a pro-active foreign policy Pakistan does not have the ambition and capacity to assume the role of a global or regional power. Its activism reflects a realization that such a policy facilities the realization of International support and resources for its domestic socio-economic development, helps to regulate the inputs from the external environment into the internal context, and contributes to strengthening security and territorial integrity which are the principal concerns of Pakistan's foreign policy.

The major focus of Pakistan's foreign policy is security against external and internal challenges to its national identity, territorial integrity and independence. Another foreign policy interest is the cultivation of close and brotherly relations with the Muslim states. Pakistan highlights sovereign equality of states, bilateralism, mutuality of interests, and non-interference in each other's domestic affairs as the cardinal features of its foreign policy. Pakistan firmly believes that it has to work within the norms and institutions of the international system but it supports their restructuring for bringing them in line with the realities currently obtaining in the International system. Pakistan, therefore, maintains a strong faith in the principles enunciated in the United Nations Charter and takes an active part in the deliberations of the UN and other International and regional organizations. Pakistan also identifies with the political and economic concerns of the developing countries. Other leading foreign policy goals include support to the right of self determination for the subjugated nations, oppositions to apartheid and the remnants of colonialism, peaceful resolution of inter-state disputes, arms control and nuclear non-proliferation, and promotion of peace and stability through international and regional cooperation.

The principle strategies and mechanisms to pursue these foreign policy goals have varied over time. These changes help to identity the major phases in Pakistan's foreign policy. Though each phase is characterized by a set of major themes and operational strategies, these overlap and reflect continuity and change.

The major phases of Pakistan's foreign policy are:

(a) 1947-53: Explorations and friendship with all
(b) 1953-62: Alignment with the West
(c) 1962-71: Transition
(d) 1972-79: Bilateralism and nonalignment
(e) 1980-90: Afghanistan and Partnership with the U.S.
(f) 1990-2001: Post-Cold War Era and Pakistan's Dilemmas
(g) 2001 onwards: Pakistan and Counter Terrorism

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan and its first Governor-General, gave two special talks on radio to introduce Pakistan to the people of the United States and Australia. He expressed a strong desire to develop friendly ties with other states on the eve of his meeting with the special representative of the King of Afghanistan in December 1947. Similar views were expressed when the first ambassadors of Burma (January 1948), France (January 1948), the United States (February 1948), Turkey (March 1948) and Afghanistan (May 1948) presented their credentials. Outlining the goals of foreign policy, Jinnah declared:

"Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and goodwill towards the nations of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation. We believe in the principle of honesty and fair-play in national and international dealings and are prepared to make our utmost contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and suppressed peoples of the world, and in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter."

Pakistan joined the United Nations on September 30 1947, as a new member and stayed in the Commonwealth. Its leadership established contacts with other states, emphasizing friendship with all, promotion of peace and harmony, support for liberation of the colonized people, and a strict observance of the principles of international conduct as enshrined in the UN Charter.

The early years of independence were dominated by Pakistan's problems with India on the one hand, and the efforts to introduce the new state to the world community on the other. The problems it developed with India in the immediate aftermath of independence left an indelible impact on its foreign policy and built hostility and distrust into Pakistan-India relations. Most of these problems were the product of the partition process, as set out in the 3rd June 1947 Plan and the Indian Independence Act, July 1947. These included, interalia, the division of the funds and other assets of the British Indian government, including arms, equipment and stores of the British Indian military; the large scale killing of people at the time of independence and the subsequent communal riots; the religious minorities in the two states; the disposal of evacuee property; the river-water dispute; and bilateral trade. These disputes were coupled with controversies about the accession of the princely states of Junagadh, Hyderabad, and Jammu and Kashmir, and the outbreak of the first Kashmir war (1947-48). The ill-will generated by these problems was reinforced by the concentration of Indian troops on the border in the Punjab in 1950-51, when an armed conflict was narrowly averted. On top of this were the statements of a number of Indian leaders, including those belonging to the ruling Congress party, regretting the establishment of Pakistan; some even talked about the reunification of India and Pakistan.

What compounded Pakistan's security concerns were Afghanistan's irredentist claims on Pakistani territory. Refusing to recognize Pakistan's sovereignty over Khyber Pukhtunkhwa (KPK) and Balochistan, the Afghanistan government made divergent claims on these provinces, which ranged from a demand for the right of self determination for Pushtuns/Pathans living in Pakistan and establishment of an independent state comprising Khyber Pukhtunkhwa and Balochistan, to the incorporation of parts of these provinces into Afghanistan. India endorsed Afghanistan's irredentist

claims on Pakistan, and, in the mid-1950s, the Soviet Union extended a similar support to Afghanistan in retaliation to Pakistan's participation in US sponsored defense pacts. Pakistan's policy makers felt threatened by the spectre of Soviet backed Indo-Afghan military pressure, if not a full-fledged attack on its western and eastern borders. The security against such potential threats emerged as the cardinal concern of Pakistan.

The security imperatives led the policy makers to pay special attention to the reorganization of the armed forces that Pakistan inherited after the division of the British Indian military. Almost all units of the armed forces were regrouped and a new organizational and administrative network had to be created for them. Pakistan purchased some weapons and military equipment from a number of Western states for modernization of the three services of the armed forces. British officers were retained and some Pakistani officers were sent to Great Britain and other Commonwealth states for training. However, the pace of modernization was rather slow until Pakistan joined the West-sponsored security pacts in 1954-55.

Pakistan started with an independent foreign policy and cultivated relations with the United States, the Soviet Union, and China. The United States felicitated the establishment of Pakistan and the ambassadorial level relations were resumed in February 1948. The Soviet attitude towards the establishment of Pakistan was indifferent. Though Pakistan and the Soviet Union agreed to establish diplomatic relations in April 1948, it was not until December 1949 that Pakistan's first ambassador resumed his assignment in Moscow. The Soviet ambassador took up his position in Karachi in March 1950. Pakistan was the first Muslim country to recognize the People's Republic of China in the first week of January 1950. The ambassadors of China and Pakistan presented their credentials in September and November 1951 respectively.

An opportunity to change Soviet indifference knocked in June 1949, when the Soviet Union invited Pakistan's first Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan, for an official visit. The invitation was accepted but the visit did not materialise. Instead, Liaquat Ali Khan visited the United States in May 1950, and his speeches and statements during this visit manifested a strong pro-West disposition of the Pakistan government. The Soviet leadership was unhappy over Liaquat Ali Khan's decision not to visit the Soviet Union.

Pakistan attached importance to its relations with the Muslims countries. It actively championed the cause of the Muslims all over the world and worked towards promoting harmony and cooperation amongst the Muslim states. It sponsored several unofficial conferences for cultivating a broad-based consensus on setting up an organization representing all Muslim states. The leaders of most Muslim states did not show interest in establishing an international forum of the Muslim states. Some Muslim states ignored Pakistan's initiative; other extended a cautious approval; still others did not favour the idea. Indonesia and Egypt had strong reservations about Pakistan's efforts to promote unity in the Muslim world. Afghanistan was also not prepared to endorse Pakistan's efforts. Pakistani leadership was disappointed by the response of the Muslim leaders. Pakistan was, however, able to cultivate very cordial relations with Iran, Turkey and Saudi Arabia. With other Muslim relations, Pakistan's relations could be described as a routine relationship.

The second phase of Pakistan's foreign policy was characterised by a transition from an independent foreign policy to a multifaceted alignment with the West. Pakistan entered into a number of security arrangements with the United States and obtained economic and military assistance from that source which entangled Pakistan in the Cold War between the US and the Soviet Union. Pakistan's alignment policy was shaped primarily by its acute sense of insecurity within the regional context. Pakistan's security problems primarily with India and secondarily with Afghanistan were catalyst to Pakistan's frantic search for allies. The deepening economic crisis in the early 1950s also

contributed to this decision. In early 1952, the prices of jute and cotton began to drop in the International market which adversely affected Pakistan's foreign trade. The foreign exchange earnings and gold and sterling reserves dwindled. Pakistan was also faced with a serious shortage of wheat in 1952-53. The United States came for Pakistan's rescue by offering a gift of wheat in 1953 which helped to overcome food shortages and built a lot of goodwill in Pakistan for the donor.

Several other factors pushed Pakistan towards alignment with the United States. Pakistan suffered from a sense of isolation in the World. The efforts to promote unity in the Muslim World were not making headway. It also became clear that the UN and the Commonwealth would not facilitate the solution of the Pakistan-India problems, especially the Kashmir dispute.

The choice of the United States was not surprising. Apart from the US willingness to offer assistance as a part of its global strategy for the containment of Communism, Pakistan leaders had already given ample evidence of their pro-West disposition. Their distrust of the Soviet Union was quite known which was reinforced by the unearthing of a pro-Soviet 'Rawalpindi Conspiracy' (1951) to dislodge the government in Pakistan. Liaquat Ali Khan's successors were politically weak and they thought that American economic and military aid would reinforce their position in the body politic.

The top-brass of the military made a significant contribution towards building Pakistan-U.S. relationship. They put their weight in favour of the United States because, in their opinion, the West was more advanced in economic and technical fields and that the West had sufficient resources and determination to support its allies.

In February 1954, Pakistan agreed on the US initiative to develop close cooperation with Turkey in the political, economic and cultural spheres. A formal Turkey-Pakistan Agreement was signed in April 1954, followed by a Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement between the United States and Pakistan in May. The Unites States agreed to provide military equipment, training facilities and other related services to enable Pakistan to maintain "its international security, its legitimate self-defense or to permit it to participate in the defense of a area or in the United Nations collective security arrangements and measures." Pakistan was obliged not to use the assistance provided under this agreement for undertaking "any act of aggression against any other nation." It could not use this assistance for purposes other than those specified in the agreement.

In September 1954, Pakistan joined the South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) or the Manila Pact. Its members (Australia, France, Great Britain, New Zealand, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand and the U.S.) undertook to develop capacity "to resist attack and counter subversive activities" and promote operation for "economic progress and social well being." They pledged that an armed aggression or threat to territorial integrity of a member state would be considered a threat to all, and that they would consult each other in order to meet such a challenge. The United States made it clear that the SEATO pledge applied only to communist aggression or subversion. Pakistan's plea to include all kinds of aggression was not accepted.

One year later (September 1955) Pakistan joined the Baghdad Pact (renamed CENTO in 1959 after Iraq's withdrawal). Pakistan attached greater importance to this pact because it involved three Muslim states, i.e. Iraq (up to 1959), Turkey and Iran. Great Britain was also its member; the United States maintained close links with it and participated in its military committee. The members of the Baghdad Pact agreed to cooperate with each other in the field of defense and security. The United States made it clear that its participation in the military committee and assistance for strengthening the defensive capability of the member states pertained "solely to communist menace and [carried] no connotations with respect to intra-area matters."

A Bilateral Agreement of Cooperation was signed between Pakistan and the United States in March 1959, as an executive understanding. Its preamble declared that the United States regarded "as vital to its national interest and to world peace, the preservation of independence and integrity of Pakistan." Article 2 of the Agreement provided that the United States would supply military and economic assistance to Pakistan as may be mutually agreed upon "in order to assist the government of Pakistan in the preservation of its national independence and integrity and in the effective promotion of its economic development." Pakistan reciprocated by providing a communication/air base to the United States at Badaber, near Peshawar, for ten years: 1959-69.

Pakistan's alignment with the United States yielded several advantages. American economic assistance grants, loans, goods and services gave a boost to Pakistan's faltering economy. The most significant contribution was in the field of defense and security where the two states developed very close ties. Pakistan received grant assistance valued at US $ 650 million, and credit facilities worth US $ 55 million. The military assistance included arms and ammunition, artillery pieces, APCs, and transport for the Army; aircraft F-104, B-57, F-86, and C-130 for the Air Force; naval defense equipment, including warships; radar and communication equipment. The U.S. Military Assistance Advisory Group (USMAAG) was set up in Pakistan to advise and guide the modernization of the armed forces and the security arrangements. A number of divisions were reequipped, and a few new ones were raised, coupled with the restructuring of the defense system. Training facilities in Pakistan were improved and a good number of Pakistan military officers were sent to the United States on different training courses; Pakistan's Air Force and the Navy took part in joint CENTO exercises which enabled them to gain invaluable experience.

The alignment with the West was not cost-free. Pakistan's independent foreign policy was compromised and the prospects for improvement of its relations with the Soviet Union suffered heavily. The Soviet leaders were extremely perturbed by this development and they resorted to a two pronged strategy against Pakistan. First, the Soviet leaders made a blistering criticism of Pakistan's alignment with the US and threatened Pakistan with dire consequences if Pakistan allowed its territory to be used against the Soviet Union. Second, they extended support to India on the Kashmir question, describing it an integral part of India. They also supported Afghanistan's irredentist claims on Pakistani territory.

Pakistan's participation in defense pacts came in conflict with its desire to cultivate close and cordial relations with the Muslim states. With the exception of Iran and Turkey which shared the defense arrangements, the Middle Eastern states responded negatively to Pakistan's security ties with the West.

Pakistan also lost ground with the developing countries. Pakistan was very active in organizing the Bandung Conference in 1955 but, when the spirit of Bandung crystallized into the Nonaligned Movement (NAM) in 1961, Pakistan was excluded because of its participation in defense pacts. Earlier, it adopted an ambiguous policy towards the Suez crisis, 1956, which alienated Egypt. It kept its relations with the socialist/communist countries at a low-level in order to strengthen its credentials as a Western ally.

Despite Pakistan's respect for the US security sensitivities, the latter was not prepared to extend enough diplomatic support to Pakistan in its problems with India. This raised doubts in Pakistan about the credibility of American support. If Pakistanis were skeptical of American commitment, questions were raised in the United States as early as 1957 about the advisability of relying on Pakistan as a defender of American interest vis-à-vis the Soviet Union. However, the two sides played down their difference and continued to cooperate with each other for different reasons.

China avoided an open condemnation of Pakistan's participation in these pacts and showed a remarkable understanding of the factors that led Pakistan to join the Western camp. However, Pakistan maintained a safe distance from China and its policy on the seating of China in the UN wavered; it was more in line with the US perspective.

Pakistan's policy-makers began a review of their alignment with the US in the early 60s as strains manifested in their relations. Two major developments contributed to this. First, Pakistan was perturbed by the Soviet threat of retaliation when it downed an American spy plane, U-2, which had taken off from Badaber. Second, the importance of land bases declined because the United States developed ICBM and nuclear submarines fitted with missiles. Furthermore, the Kennedy administration, installed in January 1961, cultivated India and projected it as a counterweight to China. Pakistan viewed this shift in American policy with concern. In July, 1961, President Ayub Khan, on a visit to the United States, cautioned his hosts against the changes in their policy towards South Asia and highlighted the importance of Pakistan by suggesting that "if there is real trouble, there is no other country in Asia on whom you will be able to count. The only people who will stand by you are the people of Pakistan, provided you are also prepared to stand by them."

Despite Ayub Khan's pleadings, the US continued with its policy of cultivating India in total disregard to Pakistan's concerns. The US and a number of other Western states rushed weapons and military equipment to India after the Sino-Indian border war in October 1962. They also conducted joint military exercises with India and offered a nuclear umbrella to India. Pakistan was perturbed by these developments. What baffled the Pakistani leaders most was that Pakistan was supplied military equipment in the 50s only after it joined the US sponsored military pacts which incurred diplomatic cost for Pakistan in terms of its relations with the developing countries and a number of Muslim states. However, India was not asked to make any security related commitment in return for arms transfers.

Disappointed by the change in the US policy, the Pakistani leaders decided to review Pakistan's alignment with the West. Initially, they decided to diversify their interaction in the international system by improving ties with the socialist countries on mutually beneficial considerations. Pakistan took a number of steps to improve its relations with the Soviet Union and China during 1961-63. Pakistan and the Soviet Union entered into a number of agreements for economic and technical cooperation. In 1961, the Soviets offered, for the first time, credit and technical assistance for oil exploration in Pakistan. New avenues of cooperation were explored during the visits of Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and President Ayub Khan to Moscow in January and April 1965 respectively. Ayub Khan was the first head of Pakistani state to visit the Soviet Union. His visit produced several agreements covering trade, machinery for oil exploration, and cultural exchanges. The Soviet Union consented to assist Pakistan in implementing 30 development projects during the Third Five Year Plan (1965-70).

By mid-1960s the Soviet Union adopted a balanced approach towards Pakistan-India disputes, including the Kashmir problem, and urged the two sides to settle their problems amicably. They maintained neutrality towards the Rann of Kutch war between Pakistan and India in April 1965. A similar attitude was adopted when a full-fledged war broke out between Pakistan and India in September. The Soviet Prime Minister, Alexi Kosygin, offered help to resolve the problems arising out of the 1965 Indo-Pakistan War. President Ayub Khan and Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri met in Tashkent in January 1966 on the invitation of the Soviet Prime Minister and signed a peace agreement, commonly known as the Tashkent Declaration of January 1966 for normalization of their bilateral relations in the aftermath of the 1965 war.

Ayub Khan undertook his third visit to the Soviet Union in October 1967, and the Soviet Premier, Alexi Kosygin, visited Pakistan in April 1968 and May 1969. They affirmed their desire to

extend cooperation between the two countries in economic, cultural, and other fields. Two Pakistani military delegations visited the Soviet Union in June 1966 and July 1968 and the Soviets supplied some weapons and transport in 1968-70. The Soviet Defense Minister, Marshal Andrei Grechkov, visited Pakistan in March 1969 which underlined the transformed nature of Pakistan-Soviet relations.

Pakistan's relations with China improved more rapidly during the same period. They signed several agreements in 1963 to expand their bilateral relations. These included an agreement on trade, commerce and shipping in January 1963, a border agreement for demarcation of Pakistan-China boundary in March 1963, an air services agreement in August, and a barter trade agreement in September.

Pakistan International Airlines (PIA) resumed its regular air service to china on April 29, 1964. A similar air service was started for Moscow in the same month. Pakistan began to plead for the seating for China in the UN and supported China in its efforts to neutralize American efforts to isolate it at the international level. Chinese were equally supportive of Pakistan's independence and territorial integrity.

Zhou Enlai declared Chinese support to the right of self determination for the people of Kashmir during his visit to Pakistan in February 1964. They reaffirmed their solidarity with Pakistan during Ayub Khan's visit to Beijing in March 1965, and stood by Pakistan during the latter's war with India, first in the Rann of Kutch area (April-May 1965), and then the full-fledged armed conflict (September 1965). They also began to supply weapons and military equipment to Pakistan in early 1966.

The scope of Pakistan-China cooperation continued to extend in the diplomatic, economic (including trade), security, and cultural fields in the subsequent years. The visits of Chinese President Liu Chao Chi, and Foreign Minister, Chen Yi (March 1966), Zhou Enlai (stopover visit in June 1966), President Yahya Khan (November 1970) and several senior military officers, showed that they attached importance to their bilateral relations, and consulted each other regularly on matters of mutual interest.

The United States was unhappy over Pakistani's efforts to improve its relations with the Soviet Union and China. The United States described the Sino-Pakistan air agreement as "an unfortunate breach of the free world solidarity." It advised Pakistan not to invite Zhou EnLai for an official visit in 1964. Pakistan did not listen to the US advice. The latter retaliated by withdrawing the offer of financial assistance for the construction of a new airport at Dhaka; Ayub Khan's schedule visit to the US in April 1965 was postponed. The same happened with the meeting of the Aid-to-Pakistan Consortium which was to consider Pakistan's request for aid for the Third Five Year Plan.

The divergence between the two states widened as Pakistan was unable to invoke any security arrangement with the United States during the course of its war with India in September 1965. The United States imposed an arms embargo on South Asia which adversely affected Pakistan's combat effectiveness because, unlike India, Pakistan's defense procurement was almost entirely American.

The embargo was partly eased in March 1966 to allow the sale of non-lethal military equipment (i.e. trucks, medical and engineering supplies and communication items). One year later, the United States allowed the sale of spare parts for the military equipment supplied in the past. No new combat equipment was allowed to be sold to either country but Pakistan was provided with some arms and equipment during 1970-71 as a 'special one time exception' extended by President Nixon. A total embargo was re-imposed when a new war broke out between Pakistan and India in November 1971.

Pakistan procured weapons and military equipment from several non-American sources. China was the most important source of supply of weapons in the post-1965 war period. Some equipment

was secured through Iran and Turkey. It also secured weapons from France, Great Britain, West Germany, Italy and the Soviet Union. Pakistan also decided to pay more attention to indigenous production of weapons and defense equipment.

Pakistan, thus, moved away from the policy of alignment with the West to an independent and pluralist perspective on foreign relations. It vowed to cultivate mutually advantageous bilateral relations with all states irrespective of their ideological disposition and argued that its interaction with one state would neither influence its relations with any other state nor were these ties directed against any particular state.

Thus, while expanding its relations with the Soviet Union and China, it did not abandon its membership of the US sponsored pacts, although their importance was downgraded. It was Pakistan's determination to pursue an independent foreign policy that it did not endorse Asian Collective Security System advocated by the Soviet Union in 1969. This proposal envisaged the establishment of a Soviet-oriented collectivity of states in the backdrop of the widening rift between the Soviet Union and China. Pakistan, having developed distaste for bloc politics, could not be inclined towards this proposal. Moreover, Pakistan had cultivated very friendly and cordial relations with China and it did not want to be a party to any political networking directly or indirectly aimed at China.

Crisis in East Pakistan and International Response Pakistan's relations with India continued to be characterized by the conflicting national aspirations and mutual distrust. The Kashmir problem was the major stumbling block in the normalization of their relations. Six rounds of talks were held between the Foreign Ministers of India and Pakistan on Kashmir during December 1962 and May 1963 on the initiate of the UK and the US. These talks proved inconclusive because the two sides refused to show any flexibility in their positions on Kashmir.

Pakistan and India engaged in three wars during this period. The first war was limited to the Rann of Kutch, an area situated on the Sindh-Gujarat border, in April-May 1965. This was followed by a full-blown war in September 1965, involving three services of the armed forces. India and Pakistan again went to war against the backdrop of the civil strife in the then East Pakistan in November-December 1971. This war came to an end when Pakistani troops surrendered to Indian troop in East Pakistan on 16 December 1971. East Pakistan emerged as an independent state of Bangladesh.

The Soviets were disappointed by Pakistan's response to the Asian Collective Security Plan which brought about a degree of restraint in their interaction with Pakistan. They did not, therefore, hesitate to send a terse letter to President Yahya Khan after Pakistan embarked on military action in East Pakistan (Bangladesh) on March 25, 1971. The Soviets were also perturbed by Pakistan's role in bringing about Sino-American rapprochement in July 1971 which set the stage for US President Nixon's visit to Beijing in February 1972. The Soviets perceived this as the beginning of a Sino-American understanding to their determent. Since Pakistan was instrumental to the establishment of these ties, the Soviets decided to fall back on India to pressure Pakistan. The Soviet foreign Minister visited New Delhi in August 1971 and signed the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation which encouraged India to adopt a more strident policy towards the civil strife in East Pakistan. India invoked Article 9 of this treaty in October to secure concrete Soviet support for its policy on the East Pakistan (Bangladesh) crisis. The Soviets not only extended diplomatic support but also airlifted arms and equipment to strengthen India's intervening policies in East Pakistan and its invasion in November 1971. Accusing Pakistan of resorting to aggression against India, the Soviet Union exercised veto power thrice in the UN Security Council on December 5, 6, and 13, 1971, to stall a ceasefire resolution, which gave India enough time to overrun East Pakistan.

The United States and China did not endorse Pakistan's military action in East Pakistan but they avoided any public criticism of Pakistan's policies. Expressing support for the territorial integrity of Pakistan, the United States endeavoured to encourage Pakistan to seek a political solution to the Bangladesh crisis. Similarly, China extended strong diplomatic support to Pakistan but advised for a political settlement of the problem.

The independent approach to world affairs initiated in the mid-1960s shaped up into a policy of bilateralism and nonalignment during this phase. The mutuality of interests rather than permanent alignment was the main criterion for cultivating relations with the US, the Soviet Union and China. It was not a policy of equidistance from these states but emphasized mutuality of interests at the bilateral level without alienating one for the sake of the other.

Pakistan withdrew from the Commonwealth and the SEATO in January and November 1972 respectively. It may be pointed out here that Pakistan returned to the Commonwealth in September 1989. Pakistan recognized the Democratic Republic of Korea (North Korea), Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam) and East Germany in November 1972.

Pakistan diversified interaction by giving more attention to developing economic, trade and diplomatic relations with the states of Eastern Europe, especially Yugoslavia and Romania. Similar interaction was cultivated with several states in Asia, Africa and South and Central America, hitherto neglected by Pakistan's policy makers. An important offshoot of independent and non-aligned foreign policy was Pakistan's greater identification with the causes and issues of the developing countries. It advocated the restructuring of the international economic order to make it more responsive to the needs and aspirations of the developing world. Pakistan attended the Non-aligned Summit as an observer in 1976 and formally became its member in September 1979. Earlier in March 1979, Pakistan withdrew from the CENTO.

The most perplexing problem faced by Pakistan during this period related to the issues and problems arising out of the 1971 Indo-Pakistan war, resulting in the breakup of East Pakistan and its establishment as an independent state. India and Pakistan signed a peace agreement at Simla on July 2, 1972 for dealing with the 1971 war related issues which included return of Pakistani Prisoner of War in Indian custody, Bangladesh's threat to put 195 Pakistani POWs on war trials, withdrawal of Indian Pakistani troops on the West Pakistan-India border, recognition of Bangladesh by Pakistan, and normalization of Indo-Pakistan relations.

These issues were tackled during 1972-76. Pakistan recognized Bangladesh in February 1974 on the eve of the 2nd Islamic Summit Conference held at Lahore. Bangladesh reciprocated by withdrawing its demand for war trials of 195 Pakistani POWs. These developments produced a noticeable improvement in Pakistan-India relations. However, they continued to view each other as major adversary. Pakistan was perturbed by India's policy of not relenting on military build-up and especially the detonation of a nuclear device in May 1974.

Pakistan's relations with the major powers continued to be based on bilateralism and mutuality of interests. The friendly ties that developed between Pakistan and China in the 60s were strengthened during this period. The top civil and military leaders visited each other quite frequently for consultation on bilateral relations and international and regional affairs. These meetings produced unanimity of views on most matters and China reiterated its support to Pakistan's independence and territorial integrity. A secure and independent Pakistan was the main feature of China's South Asia policy. Their interaction in cultural, scientific and technological fields also expanded and China made a significant contribution to Pakistan's economic and industrial (including defense industry) development. It was the main source of weapon procurement for Pakistan.

Pakistan succeeded in defusing antagonism that marked its relations with the Soviet Union against the backdrop of the Bangladesh crisis. The visits of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to Moscow in 1972 and 1974 helped the two sides to understand each other's points-of-view on regional affairs, and they developed functional interaction, free from overt tension. Their bilateral trade and economic cooperation expanded during these years.

Pakistan's relations with China expanded rapidly. There were frequent high level exchanges between the two countries, including the visits of the heads of government and the top level officials of the ministries of foreign affairs and defense. China extended financial and technological assistance for setting up defense and civilian industry. Pakistan's relations with the US ranged from cordiality in the beginning to sharp differences on Pakistan's nuclear programme towards the end of this phase. The US reaffirmed support to Pakistan's independence and territorial integrity, and Z.A. Bhutto visited the US in September 1973 and February 1975 which contributed to reinforcing their bilateral relations. The US withdrew the arms embargo in stages: sale of non-lethal equipment and spare parts in 1973; and cash sale of weapons on case by case basis in 1975 - a decision welcomed by Pakistan.

Sharp difference arose between Pakistan and the US when, in 1976, Pakistan entered into an agreement with France to acquire a nuclear reprocessing plant. Viewing this as a move on Pakistan's part to acquire nuclear weapons capability, the US worked towards blocking the deal and took several steps to make its displeasure on Pakistan's nuclear policy known to Pakistan: withdrawal of A-7 aircraft offer (1977), suspension of new economic assistance and military sales (1977-78), exclusion of Pakistan from President Carter's trip to Asia when he visited, inter alia, Iran and India (December 1977-January 1978). In 1978, the US succeeded in convincing France to withdraw from the agreement for supplying a nuclear reprocessing plant to Pakistan.

When the US discovered that Pakistan was secretly working on setting up uranium enrichment facility at Kahuta, it suspended all economic assistance and military sales to Pakistan in April 1979. On top of this was the burning down of the US embassy in Islamabad in November 1979 by a mob, consisting mainly of the students, which pushed Pakistan- US relations to the lowest-ever point.

Pakistan's relations with the Muslim states, particularly the states of the Middle East, touched new heights of cordiality and trust. These relations served Pakistan's diplomatic, economic and security needs in the post-1971 period. The states of the Middle East, especially the states of the Gulf region, extended economic assistance (investment, grants, and loans on soft terms) and diplomatic support to Pakistan. They accommodated Pakistani human-power, which brought a financial bonanza for Pakistan.

The Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan on December 27, 1979 was an event of far-reaching geo-political ramifications. Pakistan viewed this development as a violation of independence and sovereignty of a neighbouring, non-aligned, and Muslim state by a superpower. As Pakistan's relations with the Soviet Union were often marred by strains, it felt threatened by the idea of having to put up with a massive Soviet military presence in the neighbourhood, dreading direct military pressure or a more active Soviet support to the dissident elements in Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Pakistan demanded the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and supported the Afghan groups, described as Afghan Mujahideen, in their bid to dislodge the Soviets from Afghanistan. It allowed them to function from Pakistani territory and accommodated over 3 million Afghan refugees who poured into Pakistan within a year of Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan.

The Afghanistan war proved a turning point in Pakistan- US relations which moved from the lowest point of 1979 to close political, economic and security ties in the 1980s. The US offered two

packages of economic assistance and military sales to support Pakistan's role in the war against the Soviet troops in Afghanistan. Some additional assistance was provided outside of these packages. The first six-year assistance package (1981-87) amounted to US $ 3.2 billion, equally divided between economic assistance and military sales. The US also sold 40 F-16 aircraft to Pakistan during 1983-87 at a cost of US $ 1.2 billion outside the assistance package. Pakistan paid this amount in cash partly from its resources and partly from the funds provided by friendly Arab states.

The second six-year assistance package (1987-93) amounted to US $ 4.2 billion. Out of this US $ 2.28 billion were allocated for economic assistance in the form of grants or loan that carried the interest rate of 2-3 per cent. The rest of the allocation (US $ 1.74 billion) was in the form of credit for military purchases. The new relationship with the US increased its presence and influence in Pakistan and the latter developed close ties with the US Central Command (Centcom) without formally joining it. Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) and the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) worked together in passing on weapons, military training and financial support to Afghan resistance groups. They encouraged the volunteers from the Arab states to join the Afghan resistance in its struggle against the Soviet troops based in Afghanistan.

Despite a close Pakistan-US cooperation on Afghanistan, they diverged on Pakistan's nuclear programme, although the United States downplayed this issue and ignored Pakistan's stride in the nuclear field in order to keep Pakistan on board for the Afghan war.

Pakistan-China relations maintained their steady march towards greater cordiality and a wide ranging cooperation in various fields. China extended full support to Pakistan in its interaction with India and endorsed Pakistan's position on the Afghanistan crisis. The barter trade through the Karakoram Highway expanded and China assisted Pakistan in agriculture, nuclear technology, power generation and heavy industry, especially the defense-related industry.

Pakistan maintained cordial relations with the Muslim states which extended support at the bilateral level and through the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) to Pakistan on the Afghanistan issue. Some of the Muslim countries donated cash and goods for helping the Afghan refugees living in Pakistan. New agreements for expansion of trade, promotion of economic and technological cooperation, and establishment of joint economic commissions were signed with several Islamic countries. A major problem faced by Pakistan in its relations with the Muslim world was that it got identified with conservative, monarchical and pro-U.S. regimes in the Middle East and its relations cooled off with radical and nationalist states like Libya, Syria and Iraq.

Pakistan-India relations were marked by the simultaneous pursuance of positive and negative interaction. There were periods of goodwill and relative harmony but these were short-lived. However, the redeeming feature of their diplomacy was that they never stopped talking on the contentious issues. Whenever there was a downward slide a standoff in their relations, Pakistan or India took the initiative to revive the dialogue. There was more interaction between the two states in the 1980s than was the case in the past which kept their difference and problem within manageable limits. Two visits of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to Pakistan in December 1988 for participation in the SAARC summit conference and an official visit in July 1989 resulted in considerable improvement in their relations but the goodwill generated by these visits did not last long.

The search for a negotiated settlement of the Afghanistan crisis proved a long drawn affair. The UN Secretary General's representative initiated peace talks between Pakistan and Afghanistan in 1982 in order to find a solution to the four interrelated aspects of the Afghanistan problem, viz, withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, nonintervention and non-interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs, international guarantees for non-intervention and non-interference, and the return of Afghan

refugees to their homes in safety and honour. It was not until April 1988 that Pakistan and Afghanistan, along with the United States and the Soviet Union, signed four documents, popularly known as the Geneva Accords, which outlined the principles for the peaceful resolution of the Afghanistan problem.

The Soviets began withdrawal of their troops from Afghanistan on the stipulated date, i.e. May 15, 1988, but the withdrawal did not proceed smoothly. The Afghan resistance groups attacked the withdrawing Soviet troops which caused an angry Soviet response, charging Pakistan with master-minding these attacks. The Soviet Union retaliated by stepping up air and ground attacks on Pakistani territory. The completion of Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan on February 15, 1989 removed a major irritant in Pakistan's relations with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Foreign Minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, undertook his first-ever visit to Islamabad in February 1989 to explore the prospects of a new beginning in their relations. However, they continued to diverge in the subsequent years on the intra-Afghan strife and the return of Soviet POWs with the resistance groups.

The post-withdrawal problems, especially an intra-Afghan settlement, haunted the interested parties to the Afghanistan crisis. The failure to resolve these problems dissuaded the Pakistan-based refugees from returning to Afghanistan. It soon became crystal clear that Pakistan would continue to host them for a long time. Pakistan made various attempts to install a new government in Kabul comprising pro-Pakistan Mujahideen groups.

The US shifted its interest from Afghanistan after the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and left Pakistan alone to cope with the intra-Afghan conflict and a pro-Soviet government in Kabul. It also reduced its assistance for Afghan refugees in Pakistan. In October 1990, U.S. President George Bush (senior) refused to certify that Pakistan did not possess a nuclear explosive device, triggering the imposition of sanctions against Pakistan under the Pressler Amendment (1985) in the Foreign Assistance Act. This disrupted the second assistance package offered in 1987 and discontinued economic assistance and military sales to Pakistan with the exception of the economic assistance on way to Pakistan. Military sales and training programme were abruptly disrupted and some of the Pakistani military officers under training in the US were asked to return home.

Four major issues dominated Pakistan's foreign policy in the 1990s. These were a drift in Pakistan- US relations, the Afghanistan problem, the Kashmir insurgency and its impact on Indo-Pakistan relations, and the nuclear explosions.

Pakistan faced hard choices in the early 1990s. The US was no longer willing to underwrite Pakistan's economic development and modernization of its military because Pakistan had lost its strategic relevance for the US.

The decline of Pakistan's strategic relevance was caused by a host of factors like the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan (1989), the revolt against the Soviet dominated authoritarian political systems in Eastern Europe (1989-90), the end of the Cold War (1990), and the break up of the Soviet Union (1991). The absence of a competing superpower secured the primacy of the US in global politics and a triumph of western values of liberal democracy and free economy. Afghanistan was no longer a high priority issue and the US attention focused on consolidation of the incipient democratic trends in Eastern Europe and Russia and management of local and regional irritants elsewhere.

This shifted US priorities in South Asia from seeking Pakistan's cooperation to non-proliferation and repairing the damage caused to its relations with India due to its Pakistan-Afghanistan policies in the 1980s. The United States imposed four types of sanctions against Pakistan in this phase. First, it suspended military sales and economic assistance to Pakistan by

invoking the Pressler Amendment in October 1990 in pursuance of its nonproliferation policy. Second, additional economic sanctions were imposed on Pakistan after it exploded nuclear devices on May 28 and 30 1998 in response to similar explosions by India on May 11 and 13. Third, the US imposed more sanction after the military takeover in Pakistan on October 12, 1999 under a US law that called for discontinuation of economic relations with the regimes that come to power by displacing an elected and constitutional government. The military regime led by General Pervez Musharraf was placed under these sanctions. Fourth, limited sanctions were applied to some Pakistani institutions and organizations in 2000, 2001 and 2003 on the pretext that Pakistan received missile technology from China or Korea in violation of the international arrangements for checking proliferation of missile technology.

The US also toyed with the idea of declaring Pakistan as a terrorist state during the 1990s for allowing its territory to be used by militant Islamic groups, Afghan war veterans and others, for launching terrorist acts in Indian administered Kashmir and elsewhere. Pakistan's support to the Taliban regime in Afghanistan (1996-2001) was another issue of contention between Pakistan and the US. The US tried to mollify Pakistan by releasing weapons and military equipment as Pakistan had paid for before the imposition of the Pressler Amendment and returned the money in 1996-97. Pakistan had paid for the purchase of new F-16 aircraft under a special legislation (the Brown Amendment). It is interesting to note that the US returned the paid amount for F-16 aircraft after adjusting a part of the due amount against the price of the gain it supplied to Pakistan in the past and storage charges for the F-16 aircraft manufactured for Pakistan but not delivered to it.

The Afghanistan problem continued to haunt Pakistan during these years. It had two aspects: the refugee problem and installation of a government in Kabul that could ensure peace and stability in Afghanistan. Though the UN High Commissioner for Refugees launched various programmes for encouraging Afghan refugees to return to their homes, a majority of them stayed back. Internal strife in Afghanistan dissuaded them to go back; a good number of them returned after spending some time in Afghanistan or periodically shuttled between the two countries. International assistance for the maintenance of refugees declined, increasing socio-economic pressures on Pakistan.

Pakistan's effort to install a pro-Pakistan Mujahideen government in Kabul did not succeed. When the Taliban movement surfaced in the fall of 1994 in Khandhar, the managers of Pakistan's Afghanistan policy co-opted them and facilitated their strides for capturing Kabul, which they did in the last week of September 1996. Pakistan recognised the Taliban government in May 1997 and secured its recognition from Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. No other country extended recognition to the Taliban government.

It was not long that the Taliban government incurred the displeasure of the international community because of its socio-cultural and gender policies. They were also accused of harbouring militant Islamic groups that engaged in violence in different countries. The Al-Qaeda established its base in Afghanistan and some of the militant and sectarian Pakistan Islamic groups used Afghanistan as a safe-haven and military training centre. Despite the growing criticism of the Taliban government at the international level, Pakistan continued to support them and advocated that they should be given Afghanistan's seat in the UN, a plea that did not evoke much support. Pakistan made unsuccessful attempts in 2000-2001 to moderate Taliban's socio-cultural policies. It also sought the Taliban's help to round up the Pakistanis who took refuge in Afghanistan after resorting to violence and sectarian killings in Pakistan. The Taliban government denied their presence in Afghanistan which somewhat irritated the Pakistan government but it continued to support the Taliban government. The continued commitment to the Taliban regime in Kabul

adversely affected Pakistan's reputation at the international level and built strains in its relations with Iran.

The civil strife in Afghanistan adversely affected Pakistan's efforts to cultivate meaningful economic and technological interactions with the states of Central Asia that attained independence when the Soviet Union disintegrated. Some of these states complained about the efforts of the Taliban and Pakistan based militant Islamic groups to cultivate linkages with the Islamic dissident element in Central Asian states.

The outbreak of insurgency in Indian administered Kashmir in 1989 added a new dimension to the Kashmir problem. By 1990-91, a number of ex-Afghan Islamic militant groups identified the situation in Kashmir as a Muslim cause and decided to support the insurgency. Pakistan's Army and intelligence authorities cultivated these groups and encouraged their role in Indian administered Kashmir as a low cost strategy to build pressure on India for the resolution of the Kashmir problem. As India was subjected to criticism at the international level for mismanaging the political affairs in Kashmir and there were complaints of human right violations by its security forces, India denied the domestic roots of insurgency in Kashmir and put the blame for the insurgency on the Pakistan-based militant Islamic groups. This built strains in India-Pakistan relations and the two countries traded charges and counter charges on the developments in Kashmir. India and Pakistan agreed on a framework for peaceful interaction when Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee visited Lahore in February 1999. However, the spirit of this declaration was destroyed when Pakistan and India engaged in a limited war in the Kargil region of Kashmir during May-July 1999. The Indian government felt betrayed by this war after having signed an agreement for peaceful interaction in February. When, in October 1999, Pakistan's Army Chief, General Pervez Musharraf, assumed power in a coup, Indian government refused to interact with his government. India pursued the policy of no contact with the military government of General Pervez Musharraf until July 2001 when Pervez Musharraf was invited by Vajpayee to visit Agra for talks. The Agra summit conference proved inconclusive.

The last major development in this phase was the decision of India and Pakistan to become overt nuclear powers. Had India not exploded nuclear devices on May 11 and 13, 1998, Pakistan would not have gone for nuclear explosions on May 28 and 30. These explosions were described by Pakistani leaders as the rectification of the strategic imbalance in the region caused by India's nuclear explosions.

Initially, there were signs that Pakistan might delay nuclear testing. The major factors that shaped Pakistan's decision to test nuclear devices included the reluctance of the Western powers to impose tough sanctions against India; non-availability of credible security guarantees to Pakistan; Pakistani perception that the U.S. administration would not be able to deliver an attractive package of economic assistance and military sales; the hawkish and anti-Pakistan statements of India's Union ministers and the senior members of the ruling party, creating the impression in Pakistan that India might use its nuclear status to extend its military reach beyond the Line of Control in Kashmir; and the growing domestic pressure for testing. The government of Pakistan did not make a realistic assessment of the implications of testing for Pakistan's troubled economy. Pakistan's economic crisis accentuated after nuclear testing. However, the government deflected the criticism by describing it as a guarantee against India's nuclear blackmail.

Pakistan describes its nuclear weapons and missile programmes as a part of its policy of maintaining 'minimum credible deterrence' against security threat from India. Given the wide imbalance in conventional weaponry to the advantage of India, Pakistan attaches much importance to nuclear and missile programmes for ensuring security. Pakistan has offered India a restraint regime

covering nuclear and conventional weapons. India does not want to be tagged with Pakistan on this issue and favours a global restraint regime that takes care of its security concerns vis-à-vis China and fits well with its ambition for being counted as a leading global actor. As long as India and Pakistan diverge on how best to ensure their security, Pakistan will assign importance to its nuclear and missile programmes for ensuring its security.

The terrorist attacks in the U.S. on September 11, 2001 had such far reaching implications for the international system that one can talk of international politics in terms of before and after these terrorist attacks. The United States, other western countries, Russia and China decided to adopt effective measures for countering terrorism by non-state and transnational entities on the highest priority basis. Most other states supported this effort. The UN General Assembly condemned the terrorist attacks and called upon its members to join the global efforts for combating terrorism and not to allow their territories to be used for such activities.

The U.S. identified the Al-Qaeda movement of Osama bin Laden based in Afghanistan as the main culprit and declared its intentions to take punitive military measures against the Al-Qaeda movement and the Taliban regime in Afghanistan which allowed Al-Qaeda to operate from Afghanistan. This focused attention on the policies of Pakistan for two reasons. First, Pakistan supported the Taliban regime in the past and its military and intelligence agencies had developed multifaceted interaction with the Taliban. Second, Pakistan shared a long border with Afghanistan and its support was important for any U.S. military operation in Afghanistan.

Given the devastation caused by the events of September 11 and sensing the mood of the international community, the government of Pakistan turned its back on the Taliban regime and joined the international community in its counter terrorism drive. Pakistan's decision was also influenced by the UN General Assembly resolutions which called upon its members to support the global efforts for combating terrorism. This was a decision against the backdrop of the international context in September 2001 which helped to protect Pakistan's major strategic interests of territorial security, protection of its nuclear and missile programmes, Kashmir, and revival of the economy.

Pakistan opened its airspace to U.S. aircraft for military operations in Afghanistan, and granted permission to the U.S. to use three small airports in Sindh and Baluchistan for logistical, communication and emergency support for U.S. military operations in Afghanistan. The military and intelligence authorities of the two countries shared intelligence on terrorist groups and their activities in Afghanistan and Pakistan. U.S security and intelligence personnel have conducted joint operations in Pakistan with Pakistani security and intelligence agencies against the Al-Qaeda and Taliban elements that secretly entered Pakistan after being dislodged from Afghanistan. The U.S military authorities and the Afghan government impressed on the Pakistani authorities to flush out the Taliban and Al-Qaeda elements who take refuge in Pakistan's tribal areas after engaging in violent activities in Afghanistan. Pakistan dispatched its troops to the tribal areas in June 2003, which periodically launched operations against ex-Afghanistan militants in the tribal areas.

The U.S. reciprocated by withdrawing three categories of economic sanctions against Pakistan in October-November 2001 and took steps to revive bilateral relations in various fields of mutual interest, including the economy, trade and investment, socio-economic development and military modernisation and supply of weapons and military equipment. Direct U.S. assistance to Pakistan has focused on fiscal support, technical and commodity assistance, enhanced trade, financial and technical support for several sectors like health, education, food, democracy promotion, child labour elimination, and counter-narcotics. The U.S. is extending economic and technological assistance to strengthen border security (mainly Pakistan-Afghanistan border), capacity building for dealing with law and order situation and especially terrorism, improvement of communication and road building in

the tribal areas and greater record keeping and control of the people leaving or entering the country through different entry-exit points. The U.S. economic assistance during 2002-2003 included US $600 million as fiscal support and over US $ 455 million for different development programmes. Furthermore, Pakistan also received payment for the use of Pakistani facilities by American troops.

Pakistan also received liberal economic assistance from the World Bank, IMF and Asian Development Bank for various social development sectors, poverty reduction, and capacity building for different institutions of state. In December 2001, the Aid to Pakistan Consortium (the Paris Club) recommended to its members the rescheduling of Pakistan's debts amounting to US $ 12.5 billion, for a period of 38 years, including a grace period of 15 years. The U.S. wrote off and rescheduled its debts. Pakistan received economic assistance, debt relief and trade concessions from Japan and the European Union. These measures eased the debt repayment pressure and gave Pakistan sufficient economic space to pursue policies to put its economic house in order.

The U.S. President made new offers of economic assistance during General Pervez Musharraf's visit to the U.S. in the last week of June 2003. He offered a five-year economic assistance package amounting to US $ 3 billion starting in 2004-05. It is equally divided between assistance for economic development and military sales.

The funds allocated for financial year 2003 and 2004 (outside of the promised assistance package) will be used to strengthen security arrangements, road construction and improvement of communication in the tribal areas. Funding would also be provided for setting up education and health facilities in these areas. A Trade and Investment Framework Agreement (TIFA) was signed as a step toward a free trade agreement. An accord was signed for cooperation in science and technology. There is a widespread concern in Pakistan that, as in the past, the current phase of the reinvigorated Pakistan-US relations might not continue for a long time. The US would abandon Pakistan when its strategic interests shift away from in and around Pakistan. The US Secretary of State, Collin Powell attempted to dispel these concerns during his visit to Islamabad on March 18, 2004 by announcing that the US Administration would soon initiate the process for designating Pakistan as a Major Non-NATO Ally. Speaking in Berlin on April 2, he said, "Pakistan is our strongest ally in the fight against terrorism and we want to build up and strengthen its institutions." The status of a Major Non-NATO Ally is neither a formal security arrangement nor a commitment for supplying weapons. It underscores the importance of the relationship and the long term US commitment for extending diplomatic support, economic and technological assistance, cooperation in other related fields and a sympathetic consideration of the request for weapons supply. (This does not mean that every request for weapons supply will be accepted by the U.S.) The two sides work together for achievement of the shared goals. A number of countries relevant to the US security and economic interests were bestowed this status in the past.

The leading countries among these are Egypt, Kuwait, Japan, Philippines, South Korea and New Zealand. Despite the U.S. decision to assign a priority to its relations with Pakistan, the troubled track record of their relations in the past would continue to cast doubts about the endurance of the current Pakistan-U.S. relations. The anti-U.S. rhetoric of many political parties in Pakistan, especially the Islamic parties known for the linkages with the Taliban and sympathies for Al-Qaeda, reinforces misgivings about the credibility of Pakistan-U.S. relations.

Pakistan's relations with India witnessed ups and downs against the backdrop of the terrorist attacks in the US in September 2001. India supported the U.S. war on terrorism but its leaders were unhappy that the US had cultivated Pakistan for its counter terrorism strategy. The revived Pakistan-US relations perturbed them. They maintained that Pakistan could not be a partner for counter terrorism because of what the Indian leaders described as Pakistan's deep involvement with the

Taliban and its support to militant Islamic groups engaged in insurgency in Indian administered Kashmir. They also demanded that the US definition of terrorism must include the activities of the Pakistan-based Islamic groups in Kashmir. India insisted that the insurgency in Indian-administered Kashmir was nothing but a product of infiltration of Pakistan based militant Islamic warriors.

India blamed Pakistan for the terrorist attacks on India's Parliament on December 13, 2001. It massed its troops on the India-Pakistan border and threatened military action if Pakistan did not contain the activities of the militant Islamic groups operating in Kashmir. From January 1 2002, India suspended all air and railroad traffic between the two countries, denied over-flight rights to Pakistani aircraft and downgraded diplomatic relations. Pakistan responded by mobilising its troops, and an eye-ball to eye-ball situation developed between the militaries of two countries. The tension reached the breaking point at the end of May 2002, but the diplomatic intervention of the U.S., the U.K., and the European Union averted the war.

India's coercive diplomacy of massing its troops on the Pakistan border in a state of combat readiness did not lead to war mainly because of the threat of escalation of such a war into a nuclear conflict and the advice for restraint by friendly countries.

India decided to withdraw its troops in October 2002. Pakistan announced a similar withdrawal of troops from the border area. However, India and Pakistan continued to trade charges and counter charges on a host of issues and Indian leadership insisted that it would not initiate a dialogue with Pakistan until Pakistan stopped "cross border terrorism" in Indian administered Kashmir. Pakistan offered unconditional dialogue on all contentious issue.

On April 18, 2003, Indian Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, offered dialogue with Pakistan which was readily accepted by Pakistan. This led to the initiation of steps for normalisation of their bilateral relations but no step was taken to initiate a dialogue. In November, Pakistan's Prime Minister, Zafarullah Khan Jamali, offered ceasefire on the Line of Control in Kashmir. India responded positively to this offer and a ceasefire was enforced on November 26. On December 18, Pakistan's President General Pervez Musharraf talked of flexibility in Pakistan's traditional policy on Kashmir by suggesting that Pakistan would be willing to go beyond the stated position and that he expected similar flexibility from India. He said "we are for UN resolutions [on Kashmir]. However, now we have left that aside. If we want to resolve this issue, both sides need to talk to each other with flexibility, coming beyond stated positions, meeting halfway somewhere ... We are prepared to rise to the occasion, India has to be flexible also."

The behind the scene diplomacy and the prompting by friendly countries made it possible for Mr. Vajpayee to visit Islamabad in the first week of January 2004 for participation in the SAARC summit conference. On the last day of the summit, January 6, Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf and Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee issued a joint statement for initiation of bilateral dialogue on all contentious issues, including Kashmir. Pakistan committed that it would not allow its territory to be used for terrorist activities of any kind. This was a major breakthrough in Pakistan-India relations and speeded up the normalisation process.

The current goodwill between India and Pakistan can sustain if the dialogue between India and Pakistan facilitates the solution of the contentious issues. It can be argued that the current efforts to improve Indo-Pakistan relations are genuine but these efforts can reverse if the dialogue does not move in the direction of problem solving.

Pakistan's interaction with China expanded rapidly. The latter provided economic assistance and technological know-how for various economic development projects, including the Gwadar deep

sea port. It also endorsed Pakistan's policy on combating terrorism and sought Pakistan's cooperation for containing dissident activity in the Xinjiang Muslim majority province.

Russian concern pertained to the reported linkages between the dissident elements in Chechnya and the militant Islamic groups based in Pakistan and Afghanistan. The arrest of Chechnya's activist from the Wana area in March 2004 confirmed that Russian concerns were not misplaced. Russia supported Pakistan's efforts to contain militant groups based in the areas adjacent to Afghanistan.

Pakistan maintained cordial interaction with the Muslim states, especially those located in the Gulf region. It supported the Palestinian cause and the two-state formula. The government of Pakistan floated the proposal for recognition of Israel, which had to be put aside due to strong domestic opposition.

Two major issues cropped up with reference to Pakistan's nuclear programme. First, much concern was expressed in 2001-2002 about the possibility of some militant Islamic group launching a terrorist attack on Pakistan's nuclear installations or getting hold of fissile or radioactive materials, which may be used for making a bomb. The government of Pakistan assured the international community that its nuclear installations had adequate security against a terrorist attack or nuclear theft. Second, it was discovered in 2003 that Pakistan's ace nuclear scientist transferred nuclear material from Pakistan to Iran, Libya and North Korea through a clandestine international network for material gains. The government de-linked itself from these transfers, claiming that the government was not involved in these activities. Pakistan's top leaders assured the international community that Pakistan strictly adhered to non-proliferation of nuclear materials, technical know-how and weapons..

As anywhere else in the world, our foreign policy has been inextricably linked to our domestic policies and situation. And domestically, Pakistan's post-independence political history has been replete with endemic crises and challenges that perhaps no other country in the world has experienced.

Throughout its independent statehood, Pakistan has gone through traumatic experiences, which have left us politically unstable, economically weak, socially fragmented and physically disintegrated. The tally of our woes includes costly wars and perennial tensions with India, loss of half the country, territorial setbacks, political breakdowns, military take-overs, economic stagnation, social malaise, societal chaos and disintegration, and a culture of violence and extremism. Proxy wars were fought on our soil. Sectarianism has ripped our society apart. Even places of worship have not been spared as venues of cold-blooded communal and sectarian killings.

All these problems that we continue to suffer have nothing to do with our foreign policy. Our problems were rooted in our domestic failures. No country has ever succeeded externally if it is weak and crippled domestically. Even a super power, the former Soviet Union could not survive as a super power only because it was domestically weak in political and economic terms. Our difficulties have been aggravated by decades of internal struggle for power and privilege, long spells of military rule, inept political leadership, weakened institutions, incessant corruption, and general aversion to the rule of law.

Our domestic failures have seriously constricted our foreign policy options. Decades of political instability resulting from protracted military rule, institutional paralysis, poor governance, socio-economic malaise, rampant crime and corruption, and general aversion to the rule of law have exacerbated Pakistan's external image and standing.

In the ultimate analysis, our problems are not external. Our problems are domestic. We need to overcome our domestic problems. We need domestic consolidation, politically, economically and socially. This would require fixing our fundamentals and re-ordering of our national priorities.

It is a challenge to the new political leadership. But this is the last chance for a systemic change. If the present government fails to grasp the nettle, nothing will save the country from a revolution that the people will be obliged to bring as the last resort to free themselves of the legacy of their continued exploitation and oppression by the feudal, elitist and civil-military establishment, and to have a system rooted in their own inalienable will and based on constitutional supremacy, rule of law, independence of judiciary and good governance.

The review of Pakistan's foreign policy shows that Pakistan's goals have remained more or less constant, although their scope was often redefined and new dimensions were added to them. The diplomatic and military strategies to pursue these goals varied over time. The changes in the strategies are understandable because a host of factors influence the foreign policy choices of a country, which include the dynamics of regional and international situation, the availability of human and material resources and the disposition and priorities of the policy makers. As these change over time, foreign policy must also change in its approach to bilateral, regional and global issues and problems.

Pakistan began with an independent foreign policy in 1947. However, it tilted towards the West in a period of 7 years due to serious economic and security pressures. It maintained a policy of close interaction in the security and economic fields with the West in general and the U.S. in particular in the mid and late 1950s, the 1980s, and now since September 2001. It pursued independent to non-aligned foreign policy from mid-60s to the end of the 1970s and assigned a great importance to its interaction with the Muslim states and the issues and problems of the developing world. Pakistan is currently an active player in the global efforts for combating religious extremism and terrorism with a policy that extremism and terrorism pose serious threats to global security as well as to Pakistan's internal peace, stability and economic development. Pakistan has made some difficult decisions in pursuing counter terrorism and for ensuring peace and stability in the immediate neighbourhood in order to boost its image at the international level, restore international confidence in the ability of the Pakistani state and government to put their socio-economic house in order, and shape up as a democratically oriented, modern and enlightened Muslim polity that does not allow its territory to be used by extremist groups.

CHALLENGES FACED BY PAKISTAN IN 21ST CENTURY

OUTLINE

- ❑ Introduction
- ❑ Failure of democracy
  - Delayed of framing First Constitution
  - Feudalism
- ❑ Poverty
  - Lower rate of economic growth
  - Rising unemployment
  - Declining flow of worker's remittances
- ❑ Overpopulation, inflation, unemployment:
  - Lack of planning
  - Denial of basic facility of life
  - Urbanisation and social problems
- ❑ Illiteracy
  - Lack of eduction budget, just 2 % of GDP
  - Feudal lords in Sindh, Balochistana and South Punjab do not encourage to get education
- ❑ Ethnic crisis
- ❑ Provincial disharmony
- ❑ Terrorism and religious extremism
- ❑ Economic crisis
- ❑ International interference
- ❑ Conclusion

ESSAY

Pakistan suffers from a number of social, political, and economic problems. Pakistan is experiencing unwanted growth. While projections indicate that the population growth rate of Pakistan may actually be decreasing, those same projections also predict that by the year 2050 Pakistan will have assumed its place as the third most populated nation in the world. A rapidly growing population, along with political tensions, both internal and external, and an economy trapped in a cycle of debt, all serve to prevent Pakistan from attaining the progress it needs to advance, and perhaps to survive. Some of the major problems faced today by Pakistan as a country are:

Since its inception, the most difficult challenge Pakistan has struggled to meet has been to establish a true democratic system, which could guarantee its survival, stability and development. Unfortunately, the plant of democracy in Pakistan has not taken its roots deep enough to make the country "a durable democratic state". Pakistan was conceived on the basis of Islam, which is democratic both in letter and spirit. But unfortunately we have not proved worthy of the freedom achieved after immense sacrifices and selfish interests and political intrigues dominated the national scene.

It is imperative to have constitution when a country starts fresh. Sudden and unexpected events within the body politics of Pakistan not only delayed the making of a constitution according to the needs and ideology of the country but also thwarted the process shaping the opinion in favour of democracy as a modern political necessity. The Draft Resolution was thrown into cold storage. The country had a Constitution in 1956 that was strangled and killed after military coup by General Ayub Khan in 1958. The second constitution was drawn in 1962 to give a semblance of democracy in the form of Basic Democracy and to suit the purpose of one man who was a dictator in guise of a president. Not Parliamentary but presidential form of government with wide powers was imposed on the people. It also served the seeds of regionalism and disintegration in the country. There was democracy in name only.

Experimentation in politics is always dangerous because it kills continuity of democratic convention and gives rise to instability in the country. It is only a strong constitution that is always above the ordinary law and gives stability and inspires sense of nationhood among the people. When the experiment failed, second Marshal Law was imposed in 1969.

Wide based political parties are essential for running democratic government by the elected representatives of the people. The 1970 Elections were held in free atmosphere on party basis to put the country on road to democracy but what followed, is the darkest chapter in the history of the country. The country was dismembered as a result of lack of political foresight, sense of compromise and undemocratic attitude on the part of some political leaders. The breaking of the country necessitated making of a fresh constitution and the result was 1973 Constitution and democracy in Pakistan. However, nothing had been provided in 1973 Constitution to secure this democracy. The very fact that it had been amended time and again is a clear proof of its weakness. From 1977 onwards, no stable government has been formed till now. Military has been intervening, sometimes intentionally and sometimes invited, in the political affairs. Several amendments have been made to the constitution, each change serving the purpose for some selected people. Moreover, the opposition failed to play its due role and the rulers were too proud to listen and to bear criticism.

We have still to see real rule of law in the country. Democracy can never exist without rule of law, justice, civil liberties and equality of opportunities. Representative ruler ship could not uphold these values due to favoritism, nepotism and obstructing the course of law. Such limping democracy

can never serve long. Deeply linked to the massive debt and poorly educated people, is the large portion of Pakistan's population that lives in poverty. With an average of 2,000 dollars of GDP per person (adjusted for purchasing power parity), the average citizen is forced to live off very limited resources. This is reflected in the fact that 34% of the population lives below the poverty line, despite a mere 7% unemployment. Poverty anywhere is a threat to prosperity everywhere. It is a scrooge and one of the worst curses and miseries that a human can face. According to an analysis conducted by the government of Pakistan, poverty has increased roughly from 30% to 40% during the past decade. Consider that if 40% of a country's population is earning their life below the poverty-line in which the people are deprived of basic necessities of life such as clothing, shelter, food, education and medication, such families and their children will be forced to think of their survival only.

Poverty has emerged as the most important issue for Pakistan. The reason that economic growth has failed to trickle down to the poor in Pakistan is the slow improvement in social indicators Economic growth and social sector development are interdependent as one reinforces the other. In fact, economic growth is necessary for poverty reduction but poverty reduction itself is necessary for sustained growth. The main reasons for increase in poverty during 1990's can be attributed to the relatively lower rate of economic growth, rising unemployment, stagnant real wages, declining flow of worker's remittances and bad governance. Pakistan's lack of fiscal resources is yet another barrier against foreign investment. Without foreign investment, Pakistan lacks the resources to bring about positive economic development. Without positive economic development, Pakistan is unable to attract foreign investors. Without foreign investors, Pakistan will remain poor.

Pakistan is also facing the dragon of over population. This problem has given rise to multidimensional problems in our country. At present we are scarce in resources and it has become difficult for the government to meet the rapidly growing needs of the huge population with its scarce resources. The growth rate of Pakistan is very high and is among the highest in the world. Since partition in 1947, the population of Pakistan has become more than triple. Every year almost four million people are added to already over burdened economy. This rapidly growing population has really created an obstacle in the way of our economic progress. The massively increasing population has almost outstripped the resources in production, in facilities and in job opportunities. The genesis of the situation reflects some obvious reasons. Joint family system, illiteracy and lack of insight, issue of having at least one male child, the issue of dynasty in the rural elite and lack of recreational facilities are all contributing factors. The rapidly growing population is having a lot of adverse effects on our country. All over the country poverty has increased and people do not have the basic necessities of life. It is estimated that if the present growth rate prevails, then the population of Pakistan will be double by the year 2020. This is an alarming situation. Even today it has become difficult for us to provide basic necessities of life to the majority of the population. A great number of people have no access to the health services, safe drinking water is also not available at many places, many people do not have the sanitation facilities, a lot of children are not provided the primary education and illiteracy rate is very high among the adults.

There is a shortfall in educational institutions and class rooms are over crowded. Due to high growth rate of population the health care facilities have become inadequate. Child and maturity centers are also lacking. The standards of food have fallen and people's health has deteriorated. Ever increasing population creates housing and settlement problems. It becomes very difficult for the individual and the society to overcome them. The recreation facilities are also decreasing as more and more areas are being used for residential and business purposes. Unemployment has also increased and it has become very difficult for the employers to provide social fringe benefits to the employees. Thus the employees are often deprived of their rights like pensions, medical facilities children's

education etc. The increase in population without an increase in the resources means an increase in the crime rate. Unemployment creates frustration and revengeful attitude. People tend to snatch when they cannot get their rights through lawful means. Poverty also produces a state of hopelessness and this leads to an increase in the incidence of suicides. The same has been witnessed in Pakistan in the past few years.

Perhaps the greatest loss comes in the field of education. Whether or not this is a direct result of country's economic problems, it is undoubtedly connected and unfortunately educational improvements are given low priority. Literacy is defined as persons aged 15 or above who can "read" and "write". According to this definition, Pakistan is officially reported to have 50% literacy rate. Which means half of its population is illiterate. With such family backgrounds, inflation, poverty and child labour this rate is expected to increase in future. Even for those who are termed as "literate" are only able to read and write, which in today's technology oriented world is still considered as illiteracy. Majority of the people forming the top controlling tier is almost unaware of technologies and technical mindset, thus causing the country to adopt the new technologies at a snail's speed. A poorly educated populace makes Pakistan a poor choice for the foreign investors that it needs so desperately. Furthermore, the low literacy rate among Pakistani women means that most women never enter the work force, creating fewer incentives for them to limit the sizes of their families. This is clearly reflected from the fact that only 38 million people of the entire population make the total work force.

The struggle for Pakistan was a unique historical experience with few parallels in the annals of history .It transcended ethnic, linguistic, cultural and regional differences and coalesced into a powerful movement culminating in the creation of an independent homeland for the Muslims of the sub-continent. It even defied the geographic compulsions. However, Pakistan after its creation was, indeed, an ethnically plural society. Pakistan these days is passing through a crucial era of multifarious ethnic problems. The province of the Punjabi has three distinct ethno-linguistic groups i.e. Punjabi ,Potohari and Saraiki speaking .Of late ,there has been a nascent rise of Saraiki consciousness with a demand for a separate Saraiki Province comprising Saraiki speaking areas .In Balochistan, the Baloch , Brohi and Pakhtoons are dominated ethno-lingual groups. The wide spread nationalist consciousness of Balochistan has cut across the tribal divisions. In KPK Province, apart from Pushtu, Hindku and Saraiki are also spoken in some parts of this province .The Pustoons as an ethnic group are integrating with the economic life of the rest of the country .The issue of Kalabagh Dam has arisen out of the same ethnic issue and provincial disharmony of Pakistan in the province. Similarly, the problem of ethnicity in Sindh is very complex. It is a web of discards, clash of interest and the resultant sense deprivation between the different ethnic groups creates hysteria among the people which are damaging for the peace and harmony of the country.

Provincial disharmony has risen out of the neglect and deprivation of smaller provinces. The centralization of power has encouraged internal dissension and disharmony. It has weakened the state and aggravated the multidimensional crises the people face in their daily lives. This has resulted in deteriorating political and social fabric of the country.

The whole world looks at Pakistan as a land of terrorists. The image of Pakistan as a peace loving country has been badly tarnished. Initially war against terrorism was imposed on us but with the passage of time it has become our own war. Pakistan has suffered great losses both due to terrorism and the war against terrorism. Thousands of Pakistanis have lost their live, while millions have lost everything they had and are forced to migrate to relatively safer areas. This war has destroyed our economy and the collateral damage is $ 68 billion. But this is still not enough according top world super powers and every other day we are asked to "do more". The main reason behind this extremism is the religious exploitation of the common, uneducated majority of the country at the

hands of so called religious leaders who have always used religion as a tool to serve their interests. They are responsible for the stigma that Islam is the religion of fanatics and terrorists. But the military and successive governments are also to be blamed for they failed to play their due roles for safe guarding the integrity and sovereignty of the country. Terrorism is very closely linked to the declining economic conditions and high rate of illiteracy prevailing in our country. The poor and illiterate become an easy prey for the master minds who can train them and use them in whatever way they want. Pakistan's economy has suffered on two accounts: first a huge amount of money is being used for WAT; and second because we have lost many foreign investors and potential investors and markets. China is getting 13 billion dollars as foreign investment because of its stable and investor-friendly environment. Even smaller countries like Romania and Philippines are getting a lot of foreign investments, where as even tourists are afraid to visit Pakistan due to the security concerns.

At present the sorry state of the economy, tops the problems facing the country. Seeing the horrible economic distress, some still suggest restoring to the begging bowl and further subjugation of donor agencies as the only solution to it. Such an approach can not provide a way out; it aggravates the situation and amount to commit suicide. Therefore, the present leadership has realized that there is not option but to reshape the economic strategy altogether. The economy of Pakistan has fallen up to this extent that it requires serious attention and endeavor to revive its state. The revival of economy means to bring the economy on track whereby country becomes self sufficient and economy self sustained to meet its internal demands and fulfill foreign obligations. Sustained economy provides a balance in trade, potential of paying back foreign loans and gradual growth in gross domestic and national product. Rise in foreign exchange reserves, minimum inflation rate, strong local currency are a few indicators of a sustained economy whereas better social indicators reflect its civic effects.

Developed economies are movers, developing economies are the followers and the underdeveloped economies have no say in the scheme of things. All economic conditions are the certain result of policies. No economy can itself produce positive results. It is the people and their actions which steer the effects. The economy of Pakistan was not doomed for disaster. It has become the victim of eccentric policies of our past rulers. It has been mismanaged up to this extent that the country has virtually become bankrupt and made to dance on the tunes of donor agencies as Pakistan has bartered its freedom with them. For the last thirteen years there has been no noticeable addition to basic industries and the economic infrastructure of the country. Instead the number of sick industrial units increases each year. The public sector is shrinking and suffering losses. Although agriculture has helped the nation to survive but the sector itself is faced with crises. In regard to oil, retrogression has set in after a good progress. After attaining one third self sufficiency in the country's oil requirements, advancing steps have been retracted and the annual import of oil has increased. Exports could not be enhanced despite repeated devaluation of the rupee.

According to the genesis of the present situation the deterioration in economic activity is mainly caused by weak performance of large scale industry, erratic behavior of agriculture, decline in real investment, macro economic instability that includes large fiscal deficit, large bank barrowing, using interest payments on domestic debts double digit inflation and personal aggrandizement. The economic situation of Pakistan at the time of independence was also very bleak but it improved over the years. Its economic policies were exemplary and countries like Korea had learned the tricks of economics from Pakistan in 60's, while Pakistan revived meager financial resources at the time of independence, it was deprived of Kashmir. Ever since, the Kashmir issue has been haunting Pakistan for which Pakistan has fought several wars with India and each war had its price paid by Pakistan. It had to maintain a large armed forces causing huge burden on economy.

Agriculture has always been neglected. Feudalism is in vogue even today and about six thousand families posses forty per cent of the total cultivable land. There is no retrieval policy in regard to the agricultural inputs. The cost of seed is four times higher than its cost of production. Irrigation system is also upset. Per acre productivity of East Punjab and Haryana is four times higher than that of West Punjab and Sindh. The level of land and human efforts are the same but the difference in policies, facilities and other factors account for the disparity. Pakistan may become self sufficient in agriculture within two to three years but at present twenty per cent of total imports comprise food cereals. On one hand, there is the common cultivator who finds it difficult to meet his expenses while on the other hand there is a particular class that not only rolls in wealth but also upholds the oppressive and unjust system.

External debts are touching new heights and the irony is that new loans are obtained simply to pay back a portion of the earlier loans. As we are very heavily dependent on borrowing to meet the resource gap, our major donor International Monetary Fund insists upon narrowing the revenue expenditure gap to under five per cent of the gross domestic product. Since other lenders follow the policies of International Monetary Fund, Pakistan has no choice but to enhance its taxes and revenues. These foreign lenders and donors also demand that we reduce taxes on international trade which means the reduction in the custom duties which has always been the main source of our revenues. This puts further pressure on the other taxes to make up for the loss caused by the reduction in the custom receipts. As majority of the people in Pakistan are poor and backward, they have always been preoccupied mainly in meeting the basic needs. They live in unhygienic conditions. Electricity is a luxury for them. Health services have been thinly spread in the country. Floods, drought or diseases affect people and the livestock. The combination of malnutrition, illiteracy, diseases, high birth rate, unemployment and low income has closed the avenues of escape from serious economic crises. The most unfortunate aspect of these serious economic crises and pathetic state of affairs is not because of the lack of natural resources but due to inefficient use of the key factors of production.

The socio cultural attitude of the people is also an obstacle in the way of economic development of Pakistan. More than 50 % people are illiterate. They are ignorant of what is happening in their own country and the world at large. The majority of the people are extravagant. Pakistan, in fact, has a consumption oriented society. The native culture is generally not receptive to new foreign methods of production. The caste system functioning mostly in terms of occupations like tailoring, carpentry, jewelry etc. restrict occupational and geographical mobility.

India is typically termed as a conventional enemy to Pakistan. As mentioned before the people of Pakistan need to be trained to think positively about their surroundings. We should learn a lesson from US and Canada's cross border collaboration to improve their affairs and provide backing, why can't Pakistan and India enter into such strengthening relationship? Pakistan can never move forward with its proxy war politics with India and its involvement in the so-called US War on terrorism. It has to strike peace with India and other neighboring countries soon so that it can use its resources for its own people's welfare and focus on its collective objectives.

Pakistan has more potential to be a developed country earlier than India. It has the resources and talent. Yet it seems to sink lower by the day. India with a billion plus population has a million problems to handle. Yet the focus of India has been right and it shows in its average 8% economic growth. It is time Pakistan learnt this lesson.

PROBLEMS OF THE MUSLIM UMMAH

OUTLINE

- Introduction
- Problems
  - Tarnishing of Muslim image
  - Link with terrorism
  - Lack of unity
  - Utilisation of resources
  - High illiteracy rates
  - Weak democracies
  - Muslim youth vulnerable to extremist ideas
  - Little influence in world affairs
  - Lack of peace and stability
  - Poverty eradication
  - Lack of human resource development
  - Dependency upon outside powers
  - Disinterest in scientific knowledge
  - Strengthening the bridges of cooperation with the west
  - OIC, its Failure
  - Sectarian conflict within Muslim societies
  - Food crisis and poverty
  - Climate change
- Suggestions
  - Unity of Muslim Ummah
  - Trade
  - Promote education
  - Increase trade among Muslim nations
  - Proposed Strategy to replace dollar
  - OIC: 10 year plan outlined
  - Comments by western authors

ESSAY

"O ye who believe ! Keep your duty to Allah and fear Him and speak (always) the truth, He will direct you to do righteous good deeds and will forgive you your sins. And whosoever obeys Allah and His Messenger (SAW), he has indeed achieved a great success." ***(Quran 33: 70-71)***

Muslims today are facing some of the most critical challenges to their well-being and to their place in the global order. The challenge before the Muslim World today is to confront the ugly realities of our present situation and restore the image of Muslims and Islam. We must strive for a renaissance of the Islamic civilisation. We must recover the hallmarks of that civilisation, namely peace, prosperity and dignity. As always, the quest for international respect and dignity must begin at home. We must create an environment where peace can prevail, economies can prosper and people find their dignity.

Here, Professor Khurshid Ahmed quotes Robert Briffault, who examines in his monumental work 'The making of Humanity', the record of the Muslim state and society. He observes: 'Theocracy in the East has not been intellectually tyrannical or coercive. We do not find there the obscurantism, the holding down of thought, the perpetual warfare against intellectual revolt which is such a familiar feature of the European world, with Greece and Rome at its back'.

Another reputed historian, William Muir also admits that 'the Islamic leniency towards the conquered and their justice and integrity presented a marked contrast to the tyranny and intolerance of the Romans. The Syrian Christians enjoyed more civil and popular liberty under the Arab invaders than they had done under the rule of Heraclius and they had no wish to return to their former state'.

Few reasons are given as under:-

The problems that bedevil the Muslim World have become widespread to the point that our image is tarnished by unfair stereo types. For example, Islam is now equated with violence, poverty and indignity. In reality, these troubles have nothing to do with Islam. These are not problems that are exclusively in the domain of Muslims.

More damaging is the increasingly professed link between international terrorism and Islam. The terrible events of September 11, 2001 have provided a convenient excuse for those who want to promote the theory of a Clash of Civilisations. To them, it is convenient to paint matters in the starkest possible terms between black and white good and evil and the West and Islam. To these cynics, we can offer a simple mathematical proposition: There are at most a few thousand members in the alleged Al-Qaeda-linked terrorist organisations. In comparison, there are more than a billion Muslims living very ordinary and very peaceful lives. It is, therefore, tragic that this spurious association of Islam and Muslims with terrorism has gained international currency.

We must admit that many of these problems arise due to our weaknesses. And much of our weakness stems from the fact that our unity is so fragile and all too easily fragmented. All Muslim read the Quran. It is and will always be a source of divine guidance and inspiration. The teachings of the Quran are dynamic and relevant for all times. As such, it should not be blamed for our failings but rather we should reproach ourselves for not successfully understanding its teachings and its messages.

But violence is not our only problem. There is an abundance of resources in many Muslim countries. Indeed, some of us are rich and affluent. Yet poverty and other forms of deprivation are also an extensive and unfortunate part of the Muslim landscape. As successive United Nations Development Programme reports attest, poverty is a serious problem in at least half the countries of

the Muslim World. In Sub-Saharan Africa, of which a sizable portion is Muslim, as much as 90 per cent of the population of some countries subsist on less than US $ 2 per day in purchasing power parity terms.

Islam emphasises the pursuit of knowledge. Yet a majority of Muslim countries also has high adult illiteracy rates. Even many of those who are educated suffer from unemployment and indignity. Millions of Muslim children around the Globe are malnourished. Most of the refugees in the world today are Muslims.

On the political front, much more can be done by some Muslim countries to allow participation by their people in the process of governance. It is important to recognise that, without their participation, the government will not know the people's aspirations and their full potential will also remain untapped. The limitation of civil and political liberties is particularly severe in the case of women in many Muslim countries.

It is under these political and socio-economic conditions, when peaceful and democratic means for redress are limited, that the Muslim youth are vulnerable to succumb to extremist ideas. Once they start nurturing extremist ideas, they become easy recruits for those interested in usurping religion for their narrow and violent ideas. Those who resort to terrorism often end up hurting not only the innocent but also the very cause that they try to champion. Violence and terrorism create a negative image of Islam and Muslims which can be exploited by Islam's enemies.

The cumulative impact of all these problems is to give an extremely negative image of the Muslim World. Because of our lack of capacity, Muslim nations are often on the periphery of the Global Order. Despite our number, we have little influence in world affairs. We are accorded little respect in the community of nations.

Our first prerequisite will have to be peace and stability. We cannot prosper or live in dignity without peace. The peace and stability, we seek, cannot be imposed by the barrel of a gun. And peace that is attained by denying our citizens a legitimate voice is illusory and will not last. Such a peace will eventually breed a violent reaction.

For the Muslim world, to truly uplift itself, we must concentrate on capacity building. The Ummah must be equipped with the tools to succeed. We should grasp every opportunity to exchange experiences amongst ourselves in areas concerning poverty eradication, development and economic growth. However, mere growth is insufficient. We must aim for growth that is sound and sustainable growth that is shared efficiently and distributed equitably.

One of the greatest constraints upon Muslim empowerment in global affairs is the fact that we are often divided among ourselves. We must close ranks. We should seek to dilute the mistrust, animosity and rivalry that sometimes undermine our cohesion. We should strive to present a strong and united front on the issues that are dear and vital to the Muslim world. We must reduce our dependency upon outside powers and resist compromising our collective interests in favour of theirs.

The future of Muslims and Islam however, ultimately, lies in working with others for mutual enrichment and not in conflict with them. We cannot advance by building walls and retreating into our shells. We must actively seek out and engage the other for there is much that we can learn and benefit from them. Early Islamic civilisation was open and outward looking. For instance, it did not hesitate to absorb scientific knowledge from the Greeks and the Romans. In this process, Islamic civilisation also contributed to this knowledge base and passed it on to the Western World.

There is even greater urgency now for the Muslim world to learn from the West for we have been left behind by centuries of colonialism and by our own neglect and poor governance. We must strengthen the bridges of cooperation and understanding with the west and with others. We must build trust and confidence. There is much that Islamic civilisation shares with the others. Muslim nations deserve to be accorded respectability by the international community. The poorest countries with scarce

natural resources and human capital will face the greatest challenges. National action alone will be inadequate. They will require robust and sustained external support from the international community including from friends in the Muslim world.

OIC aims to promote Islamic solidarity by coordinating social, economic, scientific and cultural activities. It is also pledged to eliminate racial segregation and discrimination. Unfortunately, it has not evolved into a responsible and creative body. Following are the problems: Lack of democracy, ethnic strife, international trade is very low, low trade among OIC countries, no research, far behind in the field of science and technology, illiteracy etc.

The suggestions related to: (i) an institutional mechanism for conflict prevention and resolution with member states; (II) a network of centres of excellence in science and technology; (iii) establishment of a permanent forum of Islamic thought to provide guidance and opinion; (iv) allocation of adequate financial resources to implement these proposals; (v) allocation of at least 0.5 per cent of the GDP by the member states for implementing OIC objectives; and (vi) a dedicated department in the OIC secretariat for promoting intra-OIC trade.

It is very unfortunate that the whole world is watching how Muslims kill other Muslims. The sectarian violence involving sunni-shiah conflict must be resolved. Muslim leaders throughout the world must begin to preach on the universal message of Islam. Sectarian differences should be accepted as differences that can be debated by scholars in a peaceful and gentle environment. It should never reach the level of violence and killing which we are seeing today.

The world is reaching its limit in being able to feed growing number of human population. Due to unequal distribution and unjust global food policies, we can see increase in level of global poverty. For example, there are plenty of statistics and data about global poverty--these are just a few:

- Each year, more than 8 million people around the world die because they are too poor to stay alive.
- Over 1 billion people i.e 1 in 6 people around the world live in extreme poverty, defined as living on less than $1 a day.
- More than 800 million go hungry each day.
- Over 100 million primary school-age children cannot go to school.

Based on definitions established by the World Bank, nearly 3 billion people i.e half of the world's population are considered poor. But poverty isn't simply a numbers game. It's about billions of men, women and children enduring unimaginable obstacles that keep them from fulfilling their most basic human rights and achieving their individual potentials.

There is only one way to achieve the unity of Muslim Ummah and that way is the way of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW). This way was used by the Companions (R.A) of Allah's Prophet (SAW) and the Muslim scholars during the 13 centuries of Muslim rule of this world. One may say that everyone follows Quran but we are still disunited. That's true. The dispute is not in the Quran. The dispute lies with those scholars and their followers who interpret Quran based upon their own sectarian beliefs and ignore consensus of Islamic scholars. Muslims must return to the consensus of Islamic scholars which did exist from the period of Sahabah (R.A) (Companions of Allah's Prophet (SAW)) till the fall of Khilafat-e-Islamiyah just one century ago. Muslims must think as one nation and must overcome the linguistic, geographical, regional and ethnic differences. The agents of colonial Empires have seeded the linguistic and regional nationalism among Muslims. Muslims must leave linguistic and regional nationalism behind and become one body. If any part of the body feels pain the entire body should feel it and find the cure for it.

God has rightly said:

"And hold fast all together by the rope which Allah (stretches out for you) and be not

divided among yourselves; and remember with gratitude Allah's favour on you; for you were enemies and He joined your hearts in love so that by His grace you became brethren; and you were on the brink of the pit of fire and He saved you from it. This is how Allah makes his signs clear to you: that you may be guided."

One solution to our predicament is trade, which was always the cementing factor between Muslim countries even from the earliest days of the Rightly Guided Caliphs. While the armies opened the way through military and political conquest, it was the traders and trade routes that maintained and bound the ties between nations.

Investment in education, along with basic health services, offers the highest potential returns on development spending. A large part of the continued weakness of the Ummah lies in our low literacy and low educational achievement rates. This obviously contributes to the failure of the Ummah to master science and technology and makes it difficult to be economically competitive.

Thus, today, although many people may associate the lack of political unity with the lack of unity among the Muslim communities, one may also point out that the lack of unity among the Muslim communities is due to the fact that we have stopped trading with each other as much as we used to during the zenith of our Muslim civilisation.

As a result of the hurdles left by our colonial invaders and masters, we find ourselves today trading through Europe or through some third non-Muslim country. We note that for much of history, the Middle East was the commercial and intellectual bridge between Asia and Europe. It was among the most cosmopolitan regions of the world, the birthplace of religions and alphabets and the repository and laboratory for knowledge of all fields. Today, it is painfully clear that the main roads of international trade have by-passed the Muslim Middle East.

We need to formulate a strategy to remove the role of the dollar as the international reserve currency as well as its role as the petro-currency. The following is suggested: -

(i) Muslim nations must instruct their central banks and large corporations to convert the bulk of their US $ holdings into assets denominated in Euro and perhaps even Yen.

(ii) The OPEC countries must take action to denominate the oil trade in Euro instead of denominating it in US dollars.

(iii) The Muslim nations must attempt to use Euro as the currency of denomination when they trade among themselves.

(iv) The Muslim nations must persuade Europe to denominate its trade with Muslim nations in Euro and persuade Japan to denominate its trade with Muslim nations in Yen.

Based on the views and recommendations of scholars and intellectuals, convinced of the potential of the Muslim Ummah to achieve its renaissance and in order to take practical steps towards strengthening the bonds of Islamic solidarity, achieve unity of ranks and project the true image and noble values of Islam, a Ten-Year programme of Action has been developed which reviews the most prominent challenges facing the Muslim world today as well as ways and means to address them in an objective and realistic way in order to serve as a practicable and workable programme for all OIC member states.

(a) Single currency for whole Muslim countries

(b) Islamic development bank for the Muslim countries.

(c) Revolution in the field of science of technology.

(d) Research on Quran

(e) Dependence on their own resources

THE LAND OF PURE (PAKISTAN)

OUTLINE

- ❑ Land
- ❑ People
- ❑ Economy
- ❑ Government
- ❑ History
- ❑ British Control and the Muslim League
- ❑ Partition and Conflict
- ❑ The Ayub Khan Regime
- ❑ Bangladesh and Bhutto
- ❑ Recent History
- ❑ General Facts

❑ Location	33°40′N 73°10′E
❑ Largest city	Karachi
❑ Official language(s)	Urdu (national), English
❑ Recognised regional languages	Balochi, Pashto, Punjabi, Saraiki, Sindhi
❑ Legislature	Majlis-e-Shoora, Upper House Senate, Lower House National Assembly
❑ Area	Total 796,095 km^2 (36th), 307,374 sq mi

ESSAY

The name Pakistan means Land of (the) Pure in Urdu and Persian. It was coined in 1934 as Pakistan by Choudhary Rahmat Ali, a Pakistan movement activist, who published it in his pamphlet 'Now or Never'. The name is an acronym representing the "thirty million Muslim brethren who live in Pakstan—by which we mean the five Northern units of India viz: Punjab, North-West Frontier Province (Afghan Province), Kashmir, Sind, and Balochistan". The letter 'i' was later added to ease pronunciation.

Pakistan was created, and achieved its independence, on 14 August 1947 as the result of a partition of British India. It consisted of the former provinces of Sindh, Balochistan, and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa together with the east of Bengal and the west of Punjab. These were all regions with a Muslim-majority population. M. A. Jinnah, the leader of the Muslim League, was the principal advocate of Pakistan. Chaotic conditions at the time of partition also led to at least half a million people being killed in ferocious 'communal' violence. Since independence Pakistan has enjoyed a chequered history. Tensions with India have remained high and have led to three wars. East Pakistan seceded in 1971, amidst much bloodshed, to form the independent state of Bangladesh. Full general elections were not held until 1970 and democratic institutions have remained at risk from military coups.

Pakistan is bordered by India on the east, the Arabian Sea on the south, Iran on the southwest, and Afghanistan on the west and north; in the northeast is the disputed territory (with India) of Kashmir, of which the part occupied by Pakistan borders on China. Islamabad is the capital and Karachi is the largest city.

Pakistan may be divided into four geographic regions-the plateau of W Pakistan, the plains of the Indus and Punjab rivers, the hills of NW Pakistan, and the mountains of N Pakistan. The plateau region of W Pakistan, which is roughly coextensive with Baluchistan province, is an arid region with relatively wetter conditions in its northern sections. Numerous low mountain ranges rise from the plateau, and the Hingol and Dasht rivers are among the largest streams. Large portions of the region are unfit for agriculture, and although some cotton is raised, nomadic sheep grazing is the principal activity. Coal, chromite, and natural gas are found in this area, and fishing and salt trading are carried on along the rugged Makran coast. Quetta, the chief city, is an important railroad center on the line between Afghanistan and the Indus valley. East of the plateau region is extensive alluvial plains, through which flow the Indus and its tributaries. The region, closely coinciding with Sindh and Punjab provinces, is hot and dry and is occupied in its eastern borders by the Thar Desert. Extensive irrigation facilities, fed by the waters of the Indus system, make the Indus basin the agricultural heartland of Pakistan. A variety of crops (especially wheat, rice, and cotton) are raised there. Advances in agricultural engineering have countered the salinity problems involved in farming the Indus delta. The irrigated portions of the plain are densely populated, being the site of many of Pakistan's principal cities, including Lahore, Faisalabad (formerly Lyallpur), Hyderabad, and Multan. Karachi, the nation's chief port, is located west of the irrigated land at a site accessible to oceangoing vessels. The higher parts of the plain, in the north, as in the vicinity of Lahore, have a more humid subtropical climate.

In NW Pakistan, occupying about two thirds of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, is a region of low hills and plateaus interspersed with fertile valleys. The elevation of the region tempers the arid climate. It is a predominantly agricultural area, with wheat the chief crop; fruit trees and livestock are also raised. *Peshawar and Rawalpindi*, the largest cities of this area, are the only major manufacturing centers. In

the northern section of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and in the Pakistani-occupied sector of Kashmir are the rugged ranges and the high, snowcapped peaks of the Hindu Kush, Himalaya, and Karakorum mountains; Tirich Mir is the highest point in the country outside Kashmir.

Pakistan has one of the world's most rapidly growing populations. Its people are a mixture of many ethnic groups, a result of the occupation of the region by groups passing through on their way to India. The Pathans (Pashtuns) of the northwest are a large, indigenous group that has long resisted advances by invaders and that has at times sought to establish an autonomous state within Pakistan. Baluchis, who live mainly in the southwest, have also pressed for the creation of a state that would incorporate parts of Afghanistan and Iran. Punjabis reside mainly in the northeast, and Sindhis in the southeast. Pakistan is an overwhelmingly (about 97%) Muslim country; about three fourths of the Muslims are Sunnis (largely Sufis) and the rest Shiites. Urdu is the official language, but Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashto, Baluchi, Hindko, and Brahui are also spoken; English is common among the upper classes and in the government.

Agriculture is the mainstay of Pakistan's economy, employing more than 40% of the population. Cotton, wheat, rice, sugarcane, fruits, vegetables, and tobacco are the chief crops, and cattle, sheep, and poultry are raised. There is also a fishing industry. Most of Pakistan's agricultural output comes from the Indus basin. The country is now self-sufficient in food, as vast irrigation schemes have extended farming into arid areas, and fertilizers and new varieties of crops have increased yields. Pakistan's industrial base is able to supply many of the country's needs in consumer goods and other products. The country major manufactures textiles (the biggest earner of foreign exchange), processed foods, pharmaceuticals, construction materials, paper products, and fertilizer. Remittances from Pakistanis working abroad constitute the second largest source of foreign exchange. Since the mid-1950s electric power output has greatly increased, mainly because of the development of hydroelectric power potential and the use of thermal power plants. The annual cost of Pakistan's imports usually exceeds its earnings from exports. The chief imports are petroleum, machinery, plastics, transportation equipment, edible oils, paper, iron and steel, and tea. Exports include textiles and clothing, rice, leather and sporting goods, chemicals, and carpets. The chief trading partners are the United States, the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, and China.

Pakistan is governed under the constitution of 1973 as amended, which provides for a federal parliamentary form of government. The president, who is head of state, is elected to a five-year term by an electoral college drawn from the national parliament and provincial assemblies. The government is headed by the prime minister, who is selected by the National Assembly. There is a bicameral legislature. The National Assembly has 342 members, 272 of them elected by popular vote, with 60 seats reserved for women and 10 for non-Muslims; all serve five-year terms. The 100 members of the Senate are indirectly elected by provincial assemblies and the territories' representatives in the National Assembly; they serve six-year terms. Each province has its own legislative assembly whose members are elected by direct popular vote, a provincial governor appointed by the president, and a chief minister elected by the legislative assembly. There is an independent judicial branch of government. Administratively, the country is divided into four provinces and two territories.

The northwest of the Indian subcontinent, which now constitutes Pakistan, lies in the historic invasion routes through the Khyber, Gumal, and Bolan passes from central Asia to the heartland of India, and for thousands of years invaders and adventurers swept down upon the settlements there. The Indus valley civilization, which flourished until 1500 B.C., was one of the region's earliest civilizations. The Aryans, who surpassed the Indus, were followed by the Persians of the Achaemenid empire, who by 500 B.C. reached the Indus River. Alexander the Great, conqueror of the Persian empire, invaded the Punjab in 326 B.C. The Seleucid empire, heir to Alexander's Indian conquest, was

checked by the Mauryas, who by 305 B.C. occupied the Indus plain and much of Afghanistan. After the fall of the Mauryas (2 B.C.) the Indo-Greek Bactrian kingdom rose to power, but was in turn overrun (97 B.C.) by Scythian nomads called Saka and then by the Parthians (7 AD). The Parthians, of Persian stock, were replaced by the Kushans; the Kushan Kanishka ruled (2 A.D.) all of what is now Pakistan from his capital at Peshawar. In 712, the Muslim Arabs appeared in force and conquered Sindh, and by 900 they controlled most of NW India. They were followed by the Ghaznavid and Ghorid Turks. The first Turki invaders reached Bengal c.1200 and an important Muslim center was established there, principally through conversion of the Hindus. Although the northeast of the Indian subcontinent (now Bangladesh) remained, with interruptions, part of a united Mughal empire in India from the early 16th century to 1857, the northwest changed hands many times before it became (1857) part of imperial British India. It was overrun by Persians in the late 1730s; by the Afghans, who held Sindh and the Punjab during the latter half of the 18th century and by the Sikhs, who rose to power in the Punjab under Ranjit Singh (1780-1839).

The British attempted to subdue the anarchic northwest during the First Afghan War (1839-42) and succeeded in conquering Sind in 1843 and the Punjab in 1849. The turbulence of the region was intensified by the fierce forays of Baluchi and Pathan tribes people from the mountainous hinterlands. The British occupied Quetta in 1876 and again attempted to conquer the tribes people in the Second Afghan War (1878-80) but were still unsuccessful. With the creation of the North-West Frontier Province (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) in 1901, the British shifted from a policy of conquest to one of containment. Unlike previous settlers in India, the Muslim immigrants were not absorbed into Hindu society. Their ranks were augmented by the millions of Hindus who had been converted to Islam. There was cultural interchange between Hindu and Muslim, but no homogeneity emerged. After the Indian Mutiny (1857), a rising Hindu middle class began to assume dominant positions in industry, education, the professions, and the civil service. Although, in these early decades of the Indian National Congress, vigorous efforts were made to include Muslims in the nationalist movement, concern for Muslim political rights led to the formation of the Muslim League in 1906; in the ensuing years Hindu-Muslim conflict became increasingly acute.

The idea of a Muslim nation, distinct from Hindu India, was introduced in 1930 by the poet Muhammad Iqbal and was ardently supported by a group of Indian Muslim students in England, who were the first to use the name Pakistan [land of the pure, from the Urdu pak,=pure and stan,=land]. It gained wide support in 1940 when the Muslim League, led by Muhammad Ali Jinnah, demanded the establishment of a Muslim state in the areas of India where Muslims were in the majority. The League won most of the Muslim constituencies in the 1946 elections, and Britain and the Congress party reluctantly agreed to the formation of Pakistan as a separate dominion under the provisions of the Indian Independence Act, which went into effect on Aug. 15, 1947.

Jinnah became the governor-general of the new nation and Liaquat Ali Khan the first prime minister. While India inherited most of the British administrative machinery, Pakistan had to start with practically nothing; records and Muslim administrators were transferred from New Delhi to a chaotic, makeshift capital at Karachi. Moreover, an autumn of violence and slaughter among Hindus and Muslims came between independence and the task of developing the new nation. Disturbances in Delhi were only a prelude to the slaughter in the Punjab, where the Gurdaspur district had been partitioned to give India access to Kashmir. Although there was some violence in Calcutta (now Kolkata), the efforts of Mohandas K. Gandhi prevented widespread killing in partitioned Bengal. The communal strife took more than 500,000 lives; 7.5 million Muslim refugees fled to both parts of Pakistan from India, and 10 million Hindus left Pakistan for India.

Disputes between India and Pakistan arose also over the princely states of Junagadh, Hyderabad, and Kashmir. In the first two, Muslim rulers held sway over a Hindu majority but India forcibly joined both states to the Union, dismissing the wishes of the rulers and basing its claims instead on the wishes of the people and the facts of geography. In Kashmir the situation was precisely the opposite; a Hindu ruler held sway over a Muslim majority in a country that was geographically and economically tied to West Pakistan. The ruler signed over Kashmir to India in Oct, 1947, but Pakistan refused to accept the move. Fighting broke out (see India-Pakistan Wars) and continued until Jan, 1948, when India and Pakistan both appealed to the United Nations, each accusing the other of aggression. A cease-fire was agreed upon and a temporary demarcation line partitioned (1949) the disputed state.

In the meantime, Pakistan faced serious internal problems. A liberal statement of constitutional principles was promulgated in 1949, but parts of the proposed constitution ran into orthodox Muslim opposition. On 16 Oct, 1951, Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan was assassinated by an Afghan fanatic. His death left a leadership void that prime ministers Khwaja Nazimuddin (1951-53) and Muhammad Ali (1953-55) and governor-general Ghulam Muhammad (1951-55) failed to fill. In East Bengal, which had more than half of the nation's population, there was increasing dissatisfaction with the federal government in West Pakistan. In 1954, faced with growing crises, the government dissolved the constituent assembly and declared a state of emergency. In 1955, the existing provinces and princely states of West Pakistan were merged into a single province made up of 12 divisions, and the name of East Bengal was changed to East Pakistan, thus giving it at least the appearance of parity with West Pakistan.

In Feb, 1956, a new constitution was finally adopted and Pakistan formally became a republic within the Commonwealth of Nations; Gen. Iskander Mirza became the first president. Economic conditions remained precarious, even though large shipments of grain from the United States after 1953 had helped to relieve famine. In foreign relations, Pakistan's conflict with India over Kashmir remained unresolved, and Afghanistan continued its agitation for the formation of an autonomous Pushtunistan nation made up of the Pathan tribes people along the northwest frontier. Pakistan joined the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization in 1954 and the Central Treaty Organization in 1955. After 1956 the threat to the stability of the Pakistan government gradually increased, stemming from continuing economic difficulties, frequent cabinet crises, and widespread political corruption.

Finally, in Oct, 1958, President Mirza abrogated the constitution and granted power to the army under Gen. Muhammad Ayub Khan. Ayub subsequently assumed presidential powers (in 1960 he was elected to a five-year term), abolishing the office of prime minister and ruling by decree. Under the dictatorship, a vigorous land reform and economic development program was begun, and a new constitution, which provided for a federal Islamic republic with two provinces (East and West Pakistan) and two official languages (Bengali and Urdu), went into effect in 1962. The new city of Islamabad, N of Rawalpindi (which had been interim capital since 1959), became the national capital, and Dhaka, in East Pakistan, became the legislative capital. In 1965, Ayub was reelected and a national assembly of 156 members-with East and West Pakistan each allocated 75 seats, and six seats reserved for women, who had previously been denied the vote under Islamic strictures-was elected. A treaty with India governing the use of the waters of the Indus basin was signed (1961). Communal strife was constantly present in the subcontinent-in Jan, 1961, several thousand Muslims were massacred in Madhya Pradesh state in India, and there were reprisals in Pakistan; in 1962 there was further communal conflict in Bengal. Diplomatic relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan were severed (1961-63) after some border clashes and continued Afghan agitation, supported by the USSR, for an independent Pushtunistan.

A series of conferences on Kashmir was held (Dec, 1962-Feb, 1963) between India and Pakistan following the Chinese assault (Oct, 1962) on India; both nations offered important concessions and solution of the long-standing dispute seemed imminent. However, Pakistan then signed a bilateral border agreement with China that involved the boundaries of the disputed state, and relations with India again became strained. Pakistan's continuing conflict with India over Kashmir erupted in fighting in the Rann of Kachchh region of NW India and SE West Pakistan and in an outbreak of warfare (August-September) in Kashmir. Some improvement in relations between the two countries came in 1966, when President Ayub Khan and Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri of India reached an accord in the Declaration of Tashkent at a meeting sponsored by the USSR. Despite the accord, however, the basic dispute over Kashmir remained unsettled.

In an effort to gain support in the conflict with India, Pakistan somewhat modified its pro-Western policy after 1963 by establishing closer relations with Communist countries, especially with China, by taking a neutral position on some international issues, and by joining the Regional Co-operation for Development Program of SW Asian nations. East Pakistan's long-standing discontent with the federal government was expressed in 1966 by a movement for increased autonomy, supported by a general strike. Following disastrous riots in late 1968 and early 1969, Ayub resigned and handed the government over to Gen. Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, the head of the army, who then declared martial law. The first direct universal voting since independence was held in Dec., 1970, to elect a National Assembly that would draft a new constitution and restore federal parliamentary government.

The Awami League, under Sheik Mujibur Rahman, in a campaign for full autonomy in East Pakistan, won an overwhelming majority in the National Assembly by taking 153 of the 163 seats allotted to East Pakistan. The opening session of the National Assembly, scheduled to meet in Dhaka in Mar., 1971, was twice postponed by Yahya Khan, who then canceled the election results, banned the Awami League, and imprisoned Sheik Mujib in West Pakistan on charges of treason. East Pakistan declared its independence as Bangladesh on Mar 26, 1971, but was then placed under martial law and occupied by the Pakistani army, which was composed entirely of troops from West Pakistan. In the ensuing civil war, some 10 million refugees fled to India and hundreds of thousands of civilians were killed. India supported Bangladesh and on Dec. 3, 1971, sent troops into East Pakistan. Following a two-week war between Pakistan and India, in which fighting also broke out along the India-West Pakistan border, Pakistani troops in East Pakistan surrendered (Dec. 16) and a cease-fire was declared on all fronts.

Following Pakistan's defeat, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the deputy prime minister and foreign minister, came to power in West Pakistan. Sheikh Mujib was released from prison and eventually allowed to return to Bangladesh. Relations with India remained strained over the issue of the more than 90,000 Pakistani soldiers who had surrendered after the civil war and become prisoners of war, over Pakistan's refusal to recognize Bangladesh, and over Bangladesh's declared intention to bring to trial some Pakistani soldiers on war-crimes charges. A summit meeting held in Shimla, India, in July, 1972, resulted in an easing of tensions and an agreement to settle differences between the two nations peacefully.

Demarcation of the truce line in Kashmir was finally completed in Dec, 1972. In Aug, 1973, India and Pakistan reached an agreement on the release of Pakistani prisoners-of-war and the exchange of hostage populations in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh-especially of the Bengalis in Pakistan and the Biharis in Bangladesh. Bhutto recognized Bangladesh in Feb, 1974, prior to the start of a world Islamic summit conference in Lahore. In the mid-1970s Bhutto's government faced increasing regional tensions among Pakistan's various ethnic groups. After Bhutto's 1977 election victory was challenged by the opposition, widespread riots ensued.

Failure to reach a reconciliation prompted the army chief of staff, Gen. Mohammed Zia ul-Haq, to depose Bhutto in a military coup in July and declare martial law. Zia was declared president in September, and Bhutto, convicted of ordering the murder of political opponents, was hanged in April, 1979. In the 1980s Pakistan was dominated by events occurring in neighboring Afghanistan, where the Soviet invasion resulted in the flight of over 3 million people to Pakistan. Pakistan served as the primary conduit for U.S. aid to the Afghan resistance, resulting in large amounts of U.S. aid to Pakistan as well. The relationship prompted Zia to return the government to civilian hands, and in 1985 he announced the end of martial law, but only after amending the constitution so as to greatly strengthen his power as president.

In 1986, Benazir Bhutto, daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and his heir as head of the Pakistan People's party (PPP), returned to the country. In May, 1988, Zia dismissed parliament, charging it with widespread corruption, and announced general elections for November. In August, Zia died in a mysterious plane crash. The PPP won the November elections, and Bhutto became prime minister. Despite a strong power base, Bhutto encountered numerous problems in office, including regional ethnic clashes, the difficulties of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, and long-term tensions caused by Pakistan's poverty and its uneasy relationship with India. In Aug, 1990, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan dismissed Bhutto and her cabinet, accusing them of misconduct and abuse of power.

November elections brought to power a coalition government headed by Nawaz Sharif, whose administration instituted economic reform policies of privatization and deregulation in an effort to stimulate growth. In 1991 the parliament passed legislation incorporating Islamic law (sharia) into the legal code. When Sharif moved to reduce presidential power, he was dismissed (1993) by President Ishaq Khan; the ensuing crisis was resolved with the resignations of both men. Bhutto's party won the most seats in new elections later in 1993, and she once again became prime minister, heading a coalition government; Farooq Leghari, a Bhutto ally, was elected president. In 1995 some three dozen military officers were arrested, reportedly for plotting an Islamic revolution in Pakistan. In 1996 Bhutto was again dismissed on charges of corruption, by President Leghari. In 1997, Leghari established a Council for Defense and National Security, which gave a key role in political decision-making to the heads of the armed forces.

Sharif's Pakistan Muslim League (PML-N) won a huge majority in the 1997 elections and he once again became prime minister. Sharif soon moved to enact legislation curbing the president's power to dismiss elected governments and to appoint armed forces chiefs; the supreme court blocked these moves and reinstated a corruption inquiry against Sharif. In an apparent victory for Sharif, President Leghari resigned in Dec, 1997, and the chief justice of the supreme court was dismissed. Mohammad Rafiq Tarar became president in 1998. Following the detonation of underground nuclear devices by India in May, 1998, Pakistan carried out its own series of nuclear tests; the United States imposed economic sanctions against both countries. In the summer of 1999, conflict with India over Kashmir erupted again, with Pakistani-backed troops withdrawing from Indian-held territory after several weeks of fighting.

In Oct, 1999, a bloodless military coup led by Gen. Pervez Musharraf ousted Sharif, suspended the constitution, and declared martial law. Sharif was charged with treason, and in Apr, 2000, he was convicted of hijacking an airliner (as a result of issuing orders to deny permission to land to the plane that Musharraf had been on prior to the 1999 coup) and was sentenced to life in prison. Sharif subsequently was also convicted on corruption charges, and later exiled (Dec, 2000) to Saudi Arabia.

In June, 2001, Musharraf appointed himself president. A summit in July with Prime Minister Vajpayee of India proved unfruitful and ended on a bitter note. Following the September terrorist attacks on the United States that were linked to Osama bin Laden, the United States ended its

sanctions on Pakistan and sought its help in securing bin Laden from the Taliban government of Afghanistan, but Pakistan proved unable to influence the Taliban, who had received support from Pakistan since the mid-1990s. Pakistan permitted U.S. planes to cross its airspace and U.S. forces to be based there during the subsequent military action against Afghanistan. These moves provoked sometimes violent anti-U.S. demonstrations erupted in Pakistani cities, particularly in border areas where many Afghan refugees and Pathans live. In response, the government cracked down on the more militant Islamic fundamentalist groups.

Also in January, Musharraf announced plans for national and provincial legislative elections in Oct, 2002, while indicating that he intended to remain in office. In April, he called for a referendum on extending his rule for five more years. Most national political parties called for a boycott of the referendum, and turnout appeared low in many locations; Musharraf claimed a 50% turnout, with a 98% yes vote. In August he imposed 29 constitutional amendments designed to make his rule impervious to political opposition in parliament.

Parliamentary elections in Oct, 2002, resulted in a setback for Musharraf, as the Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid (PML-Q; renamed the Pakistan Muslim League [PML] in 2004), which supported him, placed second in terms of the seats it won. Bhutto's PPP placed first, and a generally anti-American Islamic fundamentalist coalition was a strong third and also won control of the North-West Frontier Province (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa), where the legislature subsequently approved (June, 2003) the establishment of Islamic law. Zafarullah Khan Jamali, the PML-Q leader, was narrowly elected Pakistan's prime minister. Tensions with India further eased in 2003, and midway through the year diplomatic relations were restored.

In Mar., 2004, Pakistan's military began operations against foreign Islamic militants in South Waziristan, but local militants who regarded the attacks as a breach of local autonomy joined in fighting against government forces. The fighting continued into 2005, when operations were also begun in North Waziristan. Agreements with tribal leaders in both regions ended military operations in Waziristan in late 2006. Fighting also occurred in Baluchistan, where local tribes demanding a greater share in the provinces mineral wealth and an end of the stationing of military forces there mounted a series of attacks that continued into 2006. Meanwhile, in Apr., 2004, a bill was passed creating a national security council, consisting of military and civilian leaders, to advise the government on matters of national interest. Creation of the council gave the military an institutionalized voice in national affairs.

Prime Minister Jamali resigned and the cabinet was dissolved in June, after Jamali lost the support of the president. Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain, a close political ally of Musharraf, became interim prime minister until Shaukat Aziz, the finance minister in the outgoing cabinet and Musharraf's choice to succeed Jamali, was elected to the national assembly and took office (Aug., 2004). In Oct., 2004, the governing coalition passed legislation permitting Musharraf to remain chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, despite the president's earlier pledge to resign from the post, and at the end of the year Musharraf announced he would not resign.

In Apr, 2005, Musharraf visited India, and the two nations agreed to increase cross-border transport links, including in Kashmir, and to work to improve trade between them. Passage (July, 2005) by the North-West Frontier Province (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) government of a law calling for Islamic moral policing was challenged by the national government, and the supreme court declared the legislation unconstitutional. A similar but somewhat weaker bill was passed in 2006 and again challenged. An earthquake in Oct., 2005, caused widespread devastation in N Pakistan, particularly in *Kashmir, killed more than 73,000 and injured nearly as many,* and left an estimated 3 million

homeless. Many victims in remote areas were slow to receive aid when those areas became practically inaccessible as a result of damage to roads combined with inadequate alternative transportation.

In 2006 relations with Afghanistan became increasingly strained as Afghan officials accused Pakistan of allowing the Taliban and Al Qaeda to use bordering areas of Pakistan, particularly Baluchistan around Quetta, as safe havens and to send forces and weapons across border into Afghanistan. After a series of bomb attacks (July, 2006) in Mumbai, India, that India asserted were linked to Pakistani security forces, peace talks were suspended between the two nations, but they resumed in late 2006 and an agreement designed to prevent an accidental nuclear war between India and Pakistan was signed in Feb., 2007.

In March, 2007, Musharraf suspended Pakistan's chief justice for misuse of authority; the justice had conducted investigations into human rights abuses by Pakistan's security forces and was regarded as independent of the government. While the chief justice challenged the move in the courts, Pakistani lawyers and judges denounced the move as unconstitutional, and they and opposition parties mounted demonstrations in support fo the chief justice, believing that the president was attempting to remove him as a prelude to extending his presidency beyond the end of 2007. A planned rally in Karachi in support of the chief justice led to two days of violence in May in which those who died were largely opposition activists; the violence provoked additional opposition demonstrations and strikes. In July, the supreme court ruled that the chief justice's suspension was illegal and that he should be reinstated. In June, 2007, there was devastating flooding in Balochistan after a cyclone struck the coast; some 2 million were affected by the floodwaters.

In July, Pakistani security forces stormed an Islamabad mosque that had become a focus for Islamic militants; more than 70 persons died. Militants responded with a series of bombings and other attacks in the following weeks, and fighting again broke out in Waziristan. In September, bin Laden called for jihad against the Musharraf government, and the following month the government sent troops against militants in the Swat valley in the North-West Frontier Province (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa). Despite the government's actions in Swat, the Pakistani Pashtun militants, who became loosely allied as the Taliban Movement of Pakistan in late 2007, became more powerful in 2008.

Meanwhile, with parliamentary elections due by Jan., 2008, former prime ministers Sharif and Bhutto made plans to return from exile. Sharif, who returned in September, was immediately deported, but after an October court ruling he was allowed to return in November. Following negotiations with the government, Bhutto returned in October, surviving an attempted assassination the day of her return that killed more than 130 persons. Musharraf was reelected president the same month, but the official declaration of the result was postponed until after the supreme court ruled on whether he was permitted to run while remaining army chief. Before the court could issue its ruling, Musharraf declared emergency rule, suspended the constitution, and dismissed the members of the court who seemed likely to rule against him. The challenges against his reelection were then dismissed, and later in the month Musharraf resigned as army chief.

In December, emergency rule was ended; late in the month Bhutto was assassinated, possibly by Islamists, after a campaign rally. (A UN report released in 2010 said that security had been inadequate and that the investigation into her murder had been bungled by the police and hindered by Pakistan's secret intelligence agencies.) Several days of unrest followed her death, and the government postponed the January elections to Feb., 2008.

Bhutto's PPP and Sharif's PML-N won the largest blocs of seats in the election, and agreed to form a coalition; Yousaf Raza Gilani, of the PPP, became prime minister in March. The election was a striking setback for Musharraf, and also for the Islamist parties. In May, however, the PML-N withdrew from the government over a disagreement concerning the restoration of powers to the judiciary; the PPP wanted some limitations imposed while the PML-N supported fully restoring

judicial powers. (The PML-N briefly returned to the government in August.) Relations were further strained with Afghanistan in July, 2008, when Afghanistan's President Karzai accused Pakistani agents of being behind a bomb attack against the Indian embassy in Kabul.

In Aug, 2008, the governing coalition announced that it planned to begin impeachment proceedings against Mushurraf; the move was seen as driven especially by Sharif's PML-N. As preparations for the impeachment proceedings advanced, Musharraf announced his resignation as president. The following month Bhutto's husband, Asif Ali Zardari, was elected president. The new government was faced with increased militant Islamist threats-including festering conflicts with militants (fighting resumed in Swat in July, intensified in Bajaur, in the Tribal Areas, in August, and by November had spread to Mohmand, also in the Tribal Areas), an assassination attempt against the prime minister, and a suicide bomb attack on an Islamabad hotel (Sept., 2008) that resulted in many casualties-and a financial meltdown that left the country close to defaulting on its considerable debt.

September also saw increased tensions between Pakistani forces and U.S. forces in Afghanistan after U.S. and Afghan forces conducted a ground raid against Islamists in Pakistan, and Pakistan protested against ongoing U.S. missile strikes against militant targets in Pakistan's Tribal Areas. The Nov., 2008, terrorist attacks in Mumbai, India, by Islamists of Pakistani origin, led to Indian demands that Pakistan take action against those that India said were linked to the terrorism and to increased Indo-Pakistani tensions. Pakistan later (Feb., 2009) acknowledged that the attack had been launched from Pakistan, and said it had arrested a number of persons connected to the attack. In 2010, however, India accused Pakistan's intelligence agency of having assisted in the planning of the attacks. Also in Nov., 2008, the International Monetary Fund approved a $7.6 billion loan package to Pakistan, enabling the country to avoid defaulting on its bond payments.

In Feb, 2009, the government agreed to the establishment of Islamic law in Swat in exchange for a permanent cease-fire. Militants refused, however, to lay down their weapons, and some moved in subsequent weeks into neighboring districts in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, where they were opposed by government forces. The Swat-based militants also denounced the Pakistani legal system as un-Islamic. Islamic militants also mounted bombings in a number of major Pakistani cities in early 2009.

In Mar, 2009, growing demonstrations led Zardari to agree to restore the chief justice to office; the government also subsequently announced it would appeal the banning of Sharif and his brother from politics. The Supreme Court overturned the ban in May, and in July it ruled that Musharraf's emergency rule had been unconstitutional and illegal. In April, the government received pledges of $5.2 billion in foreign aid (over two years) to help finance social programs.

As government forces moved to restore control over areas near Swat, the situation in Swat deteriorated, and in May the military mounted a major offensive against the militants there. In subsequent weeks Islamic militants in response mounted a number of suicide bomb attacks in Pakistani cities, and fighting also intensified in S and N Waziristan and other areas. Some 2 million people were displaced by the fighting. The fighting in Swat was declared largely over by late July and by September four fifths of the residents had returned to Swat. Militant attacks continued in Pakistani cities, however, and in Oct., 2009, the military launched a major offensive against militants based in S Waziristan; after some two weeks of fighting militants largely pulled back, ceding most of their main bases to the military by mid-November. In Mar., 2010, an offensive was launched in Orakzai agency in the Tribal Areas, against militants believed to have fled there from S Waziristan; some 200,000 people were displaced by the fighting. Fighting continued also in Bajaur and other parts of the Tribal Areas.

In Dec, 2009, the Supreme Court ruled illegal a 2007 Musharraf decree that had declared an amnesty on corruption cases. Benazir Bhutto and the PPP had sought the amnesty in order to end prosecutions begun under Prime Minister Sharif that they asserted were politically motivated, but

some 8,000 government officials, politicians, and others were ultimately absolved by the decree. The court also called for any case that was derailed by the decree to be reopened. Pakistan and India resumed talks in Feb., 2010; it was the first meeting since the 2008 Mumbai attacks. In Apr., 2010, Pakistan adopted constitutional changes that reduced the powers of the president and increased those of the prime minister and parliament, making the president a largely ceremonial head of state; the powers of the provinces were also increased, and the North-West Frontier Province was renamed Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Beginning in late July, the monsoon season resulted in devastating floods of unprecedented proportions along the Indus and its tributaries that impacted, to a greater or lesser degree, all of the country's provinces and submerged roughly one fifth of its land area. Some 20 million people, the vast majority of them farmers, were affected by the floods, which continued in some areas through September. Some 1,800 died, and the damage was estimated at $9.7 billion. Zadari, who left the country during the crisis, was increasingly unpopular as a result, and the scale of the disaster overwhelmed the government's ability to respond.

Pakistan's government, which was in financial difficulties before the floods, was faced with estimated rebuilding and recovery costs of $30 billion. By December the financial difficulties threatened the government when the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) withdrew from the governing coalition over an impending fuel price increase. Prime Minister Gilani was forced to roll back the increase in early January in order to regain MQM's support, and a sales tax overhaul-a condition imposed by the IMF for the release of additional loans-was postponed. The first week of January also saw the assassination of the governor of Punjab because of his support for reforms to Pakistan's blasphemy laws.

THE NEW GREAT GAME

OUTLINE

- ❑ Introduction
- ❑ Historical Background of the Great Game
- ❑ The New Great Game in Central Asia
- ❑ Previous engagement of the USSR
- ❑ Huge oil reserves in central asia
- ❑ Rivarly over Caspian Sea
- ❑ US plans to get these areas
- ❑ Attack of the US on Iraq and Afghanistan
- ❑ US Military Bases in Central Asia
- ❑ Afghanistan and the *New Great Game*
- ❑ Afghanistan, near to this area
- ❑ US military bases in Afghanistan
- ❑ Energy bridge
- ❑ Iraq and the *New Great Game*
- ❑ Conclusion

ESSAY

The term 'Great Game' was first coined by Arthur Conolly in 1829. He was a British intelligence officer, explorer and writer. He was a captain of the Sixth Bengal Light Cavalry, who worked for the British East India Company. Arthur Conolly used this term to describe the struggle between the British Empire and the Russian Empire for domination over Central Asia.

The Great Game refers to the strategic rivalry between the British and the Russian empires in a bid to maintain their supremacy over Central Asia that is rich in natural resources, mainly oil and natural gas. The Great Game period continued from 1813 to 1907. It started with the British-Russian rivalry in Afghanistan. The British feared that the Russian Empire's expansion in Central Asia would threaten their domination of the resource rich India. The British believed that Afghanistan would become a staging post for a Russian invasion of India. This fear led the British to launch the first Anglo-Afghan war in 1838. The attempt to impose a puppet regime under Shuja Shah in Afghanistan ultimately failed in 1842 due to the attack of the Afghan mobs on the British.

A second Anglo-Afghan War erupted when British diplomatic mission sent to Kabul in 1878 was turned back by Sher Ali, the then ruler of Afghanistan. The Britishers were infuriated because an uninvited diplomatic mission of Russia was welcomed by Afghanistan but the Britishers were declined similar treatment. The war's conclusion left Abdur Rahman Khan on the throne, who agreed to let the British maintain Afghanistan's foreign policy.

In the run-up to World War I, Germany's increased activity in Central Asia brought Russia and Britain closer and brought an end to the classic Great Game. Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 closed the Great Game. The Russians accepted that the politics of Afghanistan were solely under British control as long as the British guaranteed not to change the regime. Russia agreed to conduct all political relations with Afghanistan through the British. The British agreed that they would maintain the current borders and actively discourage any attempt by Afghanistan to encroach on Russian territory. Persia was divided into three zones: a British zone in the south, a Russian zone in the north, and a narrow neutral zone serving as buffer in between.

However, in 1917 another phase of the great game began which led to the third Anglo-Afghan war in 1919. This was a result of the assassination of the then ruler Habibullah Khan. His son and successor Amanullah declared full independence and attacked British India's northern frontier. The issue was resolved with the Rawalpindi Agreement of 1919. In May 1921, Afghanistan and the Russian Soviet Republic signed a Treaty of Friendship. The United Kingdom imposed minor sanctions and diplomatic slights as a response to the treaty. In 1928, Amanullah abdicated under pressure.

With the advent of World War II came the temporary alignment of British and Soviet interests. With this period of cooperation between the USSR and the UK, the Great Game between the two powers came to an end.

The New Great Game is a term that refers to modern geopolitics in Central Asia as a competition between the United States, the United Kingdom and other NATO countries against Russia, the People's Republic of China and other Shanghai Cooperation Organisation countries (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan) for influence, power, hegemony and profits in Central Asia. The competition for actual control over a geographic area has been taken over by pipelines, tanker routes, petroleum consortiums, and contracts.

For Central Asia, the breakdown of the USSR was a time of economic, political and social crisis, but also of new opportunities, including the chance to seek new partners and allies. The US, Turkey, Iran, India, Pakistan, China and Russia itself were quick to establish relations with the new countries. The starting point is what is now known as the famous 'New Great Game', which is none other than a modern version of the traditional power plays in the region by the major empires of Russia and British previously. However, the present game is much more complex due to the larger number of players involved. The renewed 'Great Game' is due to the increasing importance of Central Asia, stemming from the existence in the region of vast reserves of hydrocarbons (oil and gas) and minerals like uranium, and because of its age-old strategic position as a link between major markets (Europe and Asia). Central Asia is an area offering certain geo-economics advantages to countries or multinational corporations that have particular regional or global aspirations.

Some publications have termed the region a second Persian Gulf. Proved crude oil reserves total around 40 billion barrels, a very far cry from the reserves in other regions. The only country in the region with the real capacity to become a major crude oil exporter in the short term is Kazakhstan, and it is here that the multinational oil giants have set their sights. Overall, Euro-American companies control a large number of Kazakh oil reserves, with US companies leading the field. Russian companies come second followed by China. The presence of Western countries particularly US, in the breakdown of oil reserves is overwhelmingly larger than that of Russia and China.

The great game over Central Asia is being continued on the verge of a new century, this time with the United States replacing the United Kingdom. The United States is pitted in this struggle against Russia, China, and Iran, all competing to dominate the Caspian region, its resources and pipeline routes. Complicating the playing field are transnational energy corporations with their own agendas and the entrepreneurs who have taken control after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

The rivalry continues with plans for new gas pipelines to Europe from Russia and the Caspian region. The Russians plan South Stream - a pipeline under the Black Sea to Bulgaria. The European Union and U.S. are backing a pipeline called Nabucco that would supply gas to Europe via Turkey. Nabucco would get some gas from Azerbaijan, but that country doesn't have enough. Additional supply could come from Turkmenistan, but Russia is blocking a link across the Caspian Sea. Iran offers another source, but the U.S. is blocking the use of Iranian gas.

For the United States, the Central Asian region is of both emerging importance and emerging challenge. Ever since America went to war in Afghanistan, the vast region of Central Asia, including the countries of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan, on Afghanistan's Northern border acquired renewed strategic significance. Washington built military bases there to supply the ongoing military effort, encouraging unstable and corrupt regimes ruling the post-Soviet Central Asia. Geographically this region is landlocked, and had a little strategic concern for the United States during the first decade of its independence. Presently, the United States has basically three-fold interests in Central Asia, firstly, pertaining to geo-strategic realities of security, particularly in the war against terrorism, secondly, to exploit the energy resources of the region, and finally to the effort to support liberalizing and democratizing reforms in the region.

Central Asia and the Caspian basin are replete with natural wealth, which is a significant aspect of geo-politics and geo-economics in the region. However, Russia holds the majority of oil export routes from reserves in Caspian basin and Central Asia; nevertheless, the western oil companies are also doing effort to win this pipeline politics. Furthermore, the investments by China and India in oil and gas sectors have yielded more options for non-Russian export routes. U.S. ardently interests for exploiting the untapped natural resources of the Central Asia and Caspian region. It is estimated that by 2050, Central Asia could account for 80 per cent of America's oil supply. Indeed, the presence of

regional powers particularly Russia, China and Iran are posing a threat to the United States for achieving its objectives in the region

The United States maintains two bases in Central Asia, one each in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, for its postwar operations in Afghanistan. A regional group led by Russia and China has pressured the United States to remove its forces from Central Asia. The United States says the bases are necessary for its efforts in Afghanistan and claims it does not intend to have a permanent presence in the region.

As early as 5 Oct 2001 the U.S. secured permission to establish a military base in Khanabad in southwest Uzbekistan and by December of that year had established another base at Manas, just outside of the Kyrgyz capital of Bishkek. The United States began leasing both Soviet-era bases during the run-up to the U.S.-led invasion of Afghanistan in 2001. They are used primarily to station soldiers, refueling jets, and cargo planes. Each airfield houses roughly 1,000 U.S. troops and civilian contractors. The August 7, 2010 edition of the Washington Post substantiated earlier reports that the U.S. plans to establish a comparable base in Kyrgyzstan, which like Tajikistan borders China. The article revealed that "The United States is planning to move ahead with construction of a $10 million military training base in Osh, Kyrgyzstan, the site of a bloody uprising in June called the Osh Polygon, the base was first proposed under former Kyrgyz president Kurmanbek Bakiyev as a facility to train Kyrgyz troops for counterterrorism operations."

With the announcement of new U.S. military bases in Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan in addition to the indefinite maintenance of those in the latter country, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, and with American and NATO military strength in Afghanistan at a record 150,000 troops, there is no indication that the Pentagon and the North Atlantic military bloc intend to leave the strategic arc that begins in the South Caucasus and ends at the Chinese border.

Afghanistan is adjacent to Middle Eastern countries that are rich in oil and natural gas. And though Afghanistan may have little petroleum itself, it borders both Iran and Turkmenistan, countries with the second and third largest natural gas reserves in the world. Rivalry for pipeline routes and energy resources reflects competition for power and control in the region. Pipelines are important today as they connect trading partners and influence the regional balance of power. Afghanistan is a strategic piece of real estate in the geopolitical struggle for power and dominance in the region.

The war in Afghanistan is not and has not been for the last 30 years about ideological alliances between the "democratic" west and the previously "communist" Soviet Union; it is about control of massive oil fields in central Asian countries and how to secure pipeline routes to deliver that oil to market. One is the war of gas pipelines, second is of energy resources and third is of NATO which is trying to reinvent itself. NATO was searching the reason for coming to this area. The New Great Game in Afghanistan started when US attacked it after 9/11. Afghanistan acts as the geographical bridge to control Central Asia. Many believe that the US-led invasion of Afghanistan after 9/11 is part of the Afghan pipeline war and war of natural resources. There have been suggestions that Bush's decision to invade Afghanistan could have been influenced by oil money. George W. Bush's connections with the oil industry are well established. There is evidence of surprisingly close ties between Bush's U.S. Government and big oil companies, partly brought to light through high-profile cases of alleged corruption involving U.S. government officials and major oil companies.

America plans to turn Afghanistan into an "energy bridge" by helping to build a natural gas pipeline across it. The pipeline, called TAPI (Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India) would carry Turkmen gas through Afghanistan and Pakistan to India, with all three countries drawing supplies proportionate to their needs. America likes the idea because the TAPI pipeline would supplant a rival proposal to pipe Iranian gas to Pakistan and India.

There are a total of six military bases of Us in Afghanistan. US has established Bagram Airfield is a militarized airport and housing complex that is located next to the ancient city of Bagram, 11 kilometres southeast of Charikar in Parwan province of Afghanistan. The base is run by a US Army division headed by a major general. A large part of the base, however, is owned by the United States Air Force.

There are two joint bases namely Shindand Airbase which is located in the western part of Afghanistan in the Herat province, 7 miles northwest of the city of Sabzwar.

The other is the Kandahar International Airport that is located 10 miles south-east of Kandahar City in Afghanistan. The airport was built by the United States in the 1960s, under the United States Agency for International Development program. The Kandahar International Airport was built in 1960 in Afghanistan with assistance from the United States Agency for International Development. It may have been originally intended as a base for American strategic bombers to use in the event of a war with the Soviet Union, but the first time it was occupied by American forces was in 2001 when Marines took it over to use during Operation Enduring Freedom. Coalition aircraft are based at Kandahar to provide close air support for units operating in Afghanistan, and the airport has been gradually rebuilt by the Americans and Afghans, after it had largely been destroyed and neglected during the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

Apart from these there are three US marine bases in Afghanistan. Camp Dwyer is a United States Marine Corps base in Afghanistan. It is located in the Helmand River Valley, a turbulent part of the region, and it has been expanded every year since its construction. Camp Dwyer started off as a forward operating base, but its utility led Marine Corps officials to turn it into a permanent installation and to greatly increase the size of its garrison.

Camp Leatherneck is a United States Marine Corps base in Helmand Province, Afghanistan. Originally built for the 2nd Marine Expeditionary Brigade, Camp Leatherneck has changed hands between several units. Currently, the camp is occupied by elements of the 1st expeditionary force and by associated combat service support brigades. FOB Delaram is a Forward Operating Base of the United States Marine Corps in Afghanistan. It is built along the Ring Road, which is one of the most heavily trafficked (and consequently, most heavily mined with IEDs) roads in the area. The Ring Road is the 2,200 km beltway of Afghanistan, connecting its major cities with varying qualities of road surface.

The US invasion of Iraq in 2003 was apparently accounted to disarm Iraq of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), to end Saddam Hussein's support for terrorism, and to free the Iraqi people. However, many experts believe that the covert reason of the invasion was occupation of the oil reserves in Iraq. Oil is a strategic commodity that everybody needs and is crucial to military power while assuring its flow to the world economy makes US power globally indispensable. To understand the real motives behind the war and why Bush saw an attack on Iraq as the solution to US problems, we need to shift the focus to its strategic hegemony over the oil market. The US oil vulnerability was on the rise. US import dependence was rising in an ever-tighter oil market with global production seemingly peaking, hence shifting the balance of power to oil producers. These conditions could make the US and the world capitalist economy vulnerable to an oil shock historically fatal for US presidents. Iraq was a solution to these potential threats for it had the world's second largest oil reserves and very low produetion costs.

The new great game is not nearing its end. Rather, this game has ignited the evils of "Talibanisation" and "War on Terror". With so many players being a part of this not-so-peaceful tussle, only time would tell who would be the ultimate winner.

PALESTINE

OUTLINE

- ❑ Palestine - the holy land
- ❑ The Balfour Declaration
- ❑ Deal between Britain and France
- ❑ Role of the UNO
- ❑ Partition of Palestine
- ❑ Policy and the role of the US
- ❑ Establishment of Israel
- ❑ Violent treatment with the Palestinians
- ❑ Suez Canal Crisis 1956
- ❑ 1967 war
- ❑ UN Security Resolution
- ❑ Camp David Accords 1978
- ❑ The Intifada
- ❑ The Madrid Conference 1991
- ❑ Oslo Agreement 1993
- ❑ Israelis atrocities
- ❑ Wye River Accord
- ❑ Camp David 2000
- ❑ Taba 2001
- ❑ Saudi Peace Plan 2002
- ❑ Roadmap 2003
- ❑ Geneva Accord 2003
- ❑ Decision of the International Court of Justice
- ❑ Death of Yasser Arafat
- ❑ New president Mahmoud Abbad
- ❑ Israeli's bombing
- ❑ 2006 War
- ❑ Isreal's control over Gaza and West Bank
- ❑ Annapolis Summit 2007
- ❑ Resuming Talks

ESSAY

Towards the end of the 1800s questions arose as to how the Jewish people could overcome increasing persecution and anti-Semitism in Europe. The biblical Promised Land led to a political movement, Zionism, to establish a Jewish homeland in Palestine, in the Middle East. From 1920 to 1947, the British Empire had a mandate over Palestine. At that time, Palestine included all of Israel and today's Occupied Territories, of Gaza, West Bank, etc. The increasing number of Jewish people immigrating to the "Holy Land" increased tensions in the region. European geopolitics in the earlier half of the 20th century in the wider Middle East region contributed to a lot of instability overall. The British Empire, especially, played a major role in the region.

During World War I, in 1916, it convinced Arab leaders to revolt against the Ottoman Empire (which was allied with Germany). In return, the British government would support the establishment of an independent Arab state in the region, including Palestine. Yet, in contradiction to this, and to also get support of Jewish people, in 1917, Lord Arthur Balfour, then British Foreign Minister, issued a declaration (the Balfour Declaration). This announced the British Empire's support for the establishment of "a Jewish national home in Palestine."

As a further complication, there was a deal between Imperial Britain and France to carve up the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire and divide control of the region. The spoils of war were to be shared. As with the 1885 Berlin Conference where Africa was carved up amongst the various European empires, parts of the Middle East were also to be carved up, which would require artificial borders, support of monarchies, dictators and other leaders that could be regarded as "puppets" or at least could be influenced by these external powers.

After World War II, the newly formed United Nations (which then had less developing countries as members) recommended the partition of Palestine into two states and the internationalization of Jerusalem. The minority Jewish people received the majority of the land. US support for the Israel state was driven by internal politics as the CATO Institute.

In November 1947 the UN General Assembly voted overwhelmingly to recommend partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish states. The two states were to be joined in an economic union, and Jerusalem would be administered by the United Nations. The Arabs would get 43 per cent of the land, the Jews 57 per cent. The proposed apportionment should be assessed in light of the following facts: The Jewish portion was better land; by the end of 1947 the per centage of Palestine purchased by Jews was less than 7 per cent; Jewish land purchases accounted for only 10 per cent of the proposed Jewish state; and Jews made up less than one-third of the population of Palestine. Moreover, the Jewish state was to include 497,000 Arabs, who would constitute just under 50 per cent of the new state's population.

The United States not only accepted the UN plan, it aggressively promoted it among the other members of the United Nations. US President Harry Truman had been personally moved by the tragedy of the Jews and by the condition of the refugees. That response and his earlier studies of the Bible made him open to the argument that emigration to Palestine was the proper remedy for the surviving Jews of Europe. Yet he acknowledged later, in his memoirs, that he was "fully aware of the Arabs' hostility to Jewish settlement in Palestine." He, like his predecessor, had promised he would take no action without fully consulting the Arabs, and he reneged.

Truman's decision to support establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine was made against the advice of most of the State Department and other foreign policy experts, who were concerned about

U.S. relations with the Arabs and possible Soviet penetration of the region. Secretary James Forrestal of the Defense Department and Loy Henderson, at that time the State Department's chief of Near Eastern affairs, pressed those points most vigorously. Henderson warned that partition would not only create anti-Americanism but would also require U.S. troops to enforce it, and he stated his belief that partition violated both U.S. and UN principles of self-determination. But Truman was concerned about the domestic political implications as well as the foreign policy implications of the partition issue.

Truman's decision to support the Zionist cause was also influenced by Samuel I. Rosenman, David K. Niles, and Clark Clifford, all members of his staff, and Eddie Jacobson, his close friend and former business partner. Truman later wrote:

The White House, too, was subjected to a constant barrage. I do not think I ever had as much pressure and propaganda aimed at the White House as I had in this instance. The persistence of a few of the extreme Zionist leaders—actuated by political motives and engaging in political threats—disturbed and annoyed me.

Pressure on Truman also came from non-Jewish fundamentalists and politicians. In some cases, support for Jewish admission to and statehood in Palestine may have had another domestic political angle. That support sidestepped the sensitive issue of U.S. immigration quotas, which had kept European Jews out of the United States since the 1920s and had left them at the mercy of the Nazis. In other words, support for Zionism may have been a convenient way for people who did not want Jews to come to the United States to avoid appearing anti-Semitic. American classical liberals and others, including the American Council for Judaism, opposed the quotas, and it is probable that many of the refugees, given the option, would have preferred to come to the United States.

By mid-November 1947 the Truman administration was firmly in the Zionist camp. When the State Department and the U.S. mission to the United Nations agreed that the partition resolution should be changed to shift the Negev from the Jewish to the Palestinian state, Truman sided with the Jewish Agency. The United States also voted against a UN resolution calling on member states to accept Jewish refugees who could not be repatriated.

The State of Israel was proclaimed on May 14 1948, but the Arab states rejected the partition of Palestine and the existence of Israel. The armies of Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Trans-Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and Egypt attacked but were defeated by the Israeli army. While the Jewish people were successful in creating their homeland, there was no Palestine and no internationalization of Jerusalem, either.

In 1948 for example, Palestinians were driven out of the new Israel into refugee camps in Jordan, Egypt, Lebanon and other regions. At least 750,000 people are said to have been driven out (or ethnically cleansed, as some have described it). It should be noted that many Jews were also expelled from surrounding Arab countries. Zionist organizations and even some Arab nations also encouraged many Jews to immigrate to Israel. As with Palestinians, expelled Jews often had their land and/or bank accounts and other property seized.

The Suez Canal in Egypt was opened in 1869. The shipping canal is 171 km (106 miles) long and connects the Mediterranean at Port Said with the Red Sea. A substantial shareholding (172,602 shares) was purchased by the British government in 1875. In 1882 the British Army occupied Egypt in order to protect the Suez Canal. They remained in Egypt and the British government installed a Counsul-General to rule the country. On the outbreak of the Second World War the British had 36,000 troops guarding the canal and the Arabian oil fields. In 1952 General Mohammed Neguib and Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser forced Farouk I to abdicate. After the Egyptian Revolution Neguib became

commander-in-chief, prime minister and president of the republic whereas Nasser held the post of Minister of the Interior. In April 1954 Nasser replaced Neguib as prime minister. Seven months later he also became president of Egypt. Over the next few months Nasser made it clear he was in favour of liberating Palestine from the Jews. He also began buying fighter aircraft, bombers and tanks from the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

Gamal Abdel Nasser redistributed land in Egypt and began plans to industrialize the country. He also began the building of the Aswan Dam. Nasser was convinced that this would extend arable lands in Egypt and would help the industrialization process. He also advocated Arab independence and reminded the British government that the agreement allowing to keep soldiers at Suez expired in 1956. President Dwight Eisenhower became concerned about the close relationship developing between Egypt and the Soviet Union. In July 1956 Eisenhower cancelled a promised grant of 56 million dollars towards the building of the Aswan Dam which was partly in response to Egypt recognizing the People's Republic of China during the height of tensions between China and Taiwan. The aims of the attack were primarily to regain Western control of the canal and precipitate the fall of Nasser from power, whose policies were viewed as potentially threatening the strategic interests of the three nations.

Nasser was furious and on 26th July he announced he intended to nationalize the Suez Canal. The shareowners, the majority of whom were from Britain and France, were promised compensation. Nasser argued that the revenues from the Suez Canal would help to finance the Aswan Dam. Anthony Eden, the British prime minister, feared that Nasser intended to form an Arab Alliance that would cut off oil supplies to Europe. On 21st October Guy Mollet, Anthony Eden and David Ben-Gurion met in secret to discuss the problem. During these talks it was agreed to make a joint attack on Egypt. On 29th October 1956, the Israeli Army, led by General Moshe Dayan, invaded Egypt. Two days later British and French bombed Egyptian airfields. British and French troops landed at Port Said at the northern end of the Suez Canal on 5th November. By this time the Israelis had captured the Sinai peninsula. President Dwight Eisenhower grew increasingly concerned about these developments. On 30th October he decided to take action and announced he was going to suspend aid to Israel in protest against its invasion of Egypt. The following day Eisenhower's secretary of state, John Foster Dulles, criticized Britain and France for trying to take the Suez Canal by force.

In 1967, Israel simultaneously attacked Egypt, Syria and Jordan in a "pre-emptive strike" against the Arab troops along its borders. Israel captured key pieces of land, such as the strategic Golan Heights to the north on the border with Syria, to the West Bank from Jordan and the Gaza strip from Egypt. In fact, Israel more than doubled its size in the six days that this war took place. Since then, negotiations have been around returning land to pre-1967 states, as required by international law and UN resolutions. Resolution 242 was passed on 22 November 1967 and embodies the principle that has guided most of the subsequent peace plans - the exchange of land for peace. The resolution called for the "withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict", and "respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force".

In 1973, Egypt and Syria attacked Israel on the Jewish holy day of Yom Kippur to attempt to regain their lost land, but failed.

There were several peace plans following the 1967 war, but nothing happened until after the 1973 Yom Kippur or October War. There followed a new mood for peace, as shown by a historic visit to Jerusalem by the Egyptian President, Anwar Sadat, in November 1977. US President Jimmy Carter capitalised on the new mood and invited President Sadat and the Israeli Prime Minister, Menachem

Begin, for talks at the presidential retreat at Camp David known as Camp David Accords 1978 near Washington. The talks lasted for 12 days and resulted in two agreements. The first was called A Framework for Peace in the Middle East. It laid down principles for peace, expanding on resolution 242, set out what it hoped was a way of resolving what it called the "Palestinian problem", agreed that there should be a treaty between Egypt and Israel and called for other treaties between Israel and its neighbours. The weakness of the first agreement was the section on the Palestinians. The plan aimed to set up a "self-governing authority" in the West Bank and Gaza, leading to eventual "final status" talks, but the Palestinians were not party to the agreement.

The second accord was the Camp David framework for the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. This followed in 1979, after an Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai. This was the first recognition of Israel as a state by a major Arab country. The talks probably stand as the most successful negotiations in the whole peace process. The treaty has lasted, and it substantially strengthened Israel's position. However the peace between Egypt and Israel has not been warm. President Sadat was himself later assassinated. In 1978, due to rising Hezbollah attacks from South Lebanon, where many Palestinian refugees still were, Israel attacked and invaded Lebanon. In 1982, Israel went as far up Lebanon as Beirut, as bloody exchanges followed between Israeli attempts to bomb Yasser Arafat's PLO locations, and Hezbollah retaliations. In 1985, Israel declared a strip of South Lebanon to be a Security Zone (never recognized by the UN, and hence Israel was always occupying this other nation.) Many civilians were killed on both sides. Israeli forces were accused of massacres on many occasions. After 22 years, Israel withdrew in May 2000. One of the leading Israeli military personnel was the future Israel Prime Minister, Ariel Sharon.

In the late 1980s came the Palestinian uprising—the Intifada. While there was much of a non-violence movement initially, the mainstream media concentrated on the violence. Young Palestinians confronted Israeli troops with nothing more than sling shots and stones. Thousands were killed by the Israeli military. Many suicide activists killed Israeli soldiers and caused other damage. Many innocent civilians were killed on both sides.

The Madrid Conference 1991, co-sponsored by the US and the Soviet Union, was designed to follow up the Egypt-Israel treaty by encouraging other Arab countries to sign their own agreements with Israel. Jordan, Lebanon and Syria were invited as well as Israel and Egypt. The Palestinians were also represented, but as part of a joint delegation with Jordan and not by Yasser Arafat or other leading figures in the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), to whom the Israelis objected.

The conference eventually led to a peace treaty between Israel and Jordan in 1994, but this probably would have happened anyway. Israeli talks with Syria and Lebanon took place after Madrid but have since stalled, complicated by border disputes and, more recently, the 2006 war between Israel and Lebanese Hezbollah militants. The Palestinian track soon gave way to secret talks that led to the Oslo agreement.

The Oslo Agreement 1993 tried to tackle the missing element of all previous talks - a direct agreement between Israelis and Palestinians, represented by the PLO. Its importance was that there was finally mutual recognition between Israel and the PLO. The talks took place in secret under Norwegian auspices and the agreement was signed on the White House lawn on 13 September 1993, witnessed by President Bill Clinton. The PLO leader, Yasser Arafat, and the Israeli Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, shook hands.

The Oslo Agreement stipulated that Israeli troops would withdraw in stages from the West Bank and Gaza, that a "Palestinian Interim Self-Governing Authority" would be set up for a five-year transitional period, leading to a permanent settlement based on resolutions 242 and 338. The

agreement spoke of putting "an end to decades of confrontation and conflict" and of each side recognising "their mutual legitimate and political rights". Therefore, though not stated explicitly in the text, the implication was that a state of Palestine would one day be set up alongside Israel.

There was an exchange of letters in which Yasser Arafat stated: "The PLO recognises the right of the State of Israel to exist in peace and security." Yitzhak Rabin said: "The Government of Israel has decided to recognise the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people." Hamas and other Palestinian rejectionist groups did not accept Oslo and launched suicide bomb attacks on Israelis. There was opposition within Israel from settler-led groups. Oslo was only partially implemented.

In 1994, Israel withdrew from the Gaza Strip and Jericho, ending twenty seven years of occupation. A Palestinian police force replaced them. In 1995, then Israeli Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, who had been involved in the latest peace processes, was assassinated by a Jewish extremist. In April 1996, Israeli forces bombed Lebanon for 17 days, with Hezbollah retaliating by firing upon populated areas of Northern Israel. Israel also shelled a UN shelter killing about 100 out of 800 civilians sheltering there. The UN claimed it was intentional. October 1998 saw the Wye River Memorandum outlining some Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank but Israel suspended it in January 1999 due to internal disagreements on its implementation.

Further attempts through to the beginning of 2000 were made at continuing the Wye River accord, but kept breaking down due to Palestinian protests of continued new Israeli settlements.

Various attempts were made (including at Taba in 1995, Wye River in 1998 and Sharm el-Sheikh in 1999) to speed up the withdrawal and self-government provisions of Oslo. Then in 2000, President Bill Clinton sought to address the final status issues - including borders, Jerusalem and refugees - that Oslo had left aside for later negotiation. The talks took place in July between Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak and PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat known as Camp David 2000. There was no agreement. However, the negotiations were more detailed than ever before. The basic problem was that the maximum Israel offered was less than the minimum the Palestinians could accept. Israel offered the Gaza Strip, a large part of the West Bank, plus extra land from the Negev desert, while keeping major settlement blocks and most of East Jerusalem. It proposed Islamic guardianship of key sites in the Old City of Jerusalem and contributions to a fund for Palestinian refugees.

The Palestinians wanted to start with a reversion to the lines of 1967, offered the Israelis rights over the Jewish quarter of the Old City and wanted recognition of the "right of return" of Palestinian refugees. The failure at Camp David was followed by a renewal of the Palestinian uprising or intifada. In late 2000, Ariel Sharon's visit to the Mount Temple sparks of the current round of protests and violence. Towards the end of September, 2000, former Israeli military general, and now Israel's Prime Minister, Ariel Sharon, accompanied by 1000 soldiers, visited a holy Muslim site, called the Temple Mount by the Israelis, and Haram al Sharif (Noble Sanctuary) by the Muslims and proclaimed it as eternal Israeli territory. Sharon has long been accused of massacres in his military days was seen as generally being against the peace process at that time. This proclamation infuriated Palestinians, and led to a series of protests and violence and another major "uprising", or intifada.

The Palestinian National Authority, which Arafat headed with a police force armed by the Israelis was itself criticized for not serving the full interests of the Palestinian people. The police force's harsh crack down on some Palestinians (in an attempt to address internal differences and extremism) drew criticisms from the likes of Amnesty International and others. In all this time then, the Palestinian people have been without any nation, and have had limited rights, while suffering from poverty. Israel continued to increase and expand their settlements into occupied territories, giving up less and less land compared to what was promised. Many Palestinians (that are not Israeli Arabs since

1948) living in Israel do not have the right to vote, or have limited rights, while paying full taxes. For over 3 decades, the Palestinian people have been living under a military occupation.

The frustration and injustice of the treatment of Palestinians has angered many citizens in the Arab world against US/Israeli policies. Palestinian frustration has spilled into extremism in some cases as well. Many militant groups from Palestine and other areas of the Middle East have therefore sprung up in recent years as well as past decades, performing acts of what the West and Israel describe as terrorism and what the groups themselves justify as freedom fighting (though achieving freedom through terrorist actions could arguably still be called terrorist organizations, despite claimed motives). It has been easy to influence and recruit the young, impressionable and angry into extremist causes. As violence continues, it seems that it will remain easy to find recruits to violent causes.

Another effort was made when Bill Clinton was about to leave office, he refused to give up and presented a "bridging proposal" which set up further talks in Washington and Cairo and then Taba in Egypt known as Taba 2001. These talks were not at the top level, but differences were narrowed without being overcome. There was more flexibility on territory and it was reported by EU observers that Israeli negotiators accepted the concept of East Jerusalem being the capital of a Palestinian state. A statement afterwards said that "it proved impossible to reach understandings on all issues". The Israeli Prime Minister, Ehud Barak, fighting an election campaign, said that "nothing is agreed upon until everything is agreed upon". He said that he could not commit a subsequent government to what he called the "ideas" coming out of the talks. With the election of Ariel Sharon in February 2001, time ran out.

The building of Jewish settlements on occupied land is a key issue in the talks. After the failure of bilateral talks and the resumption of conflict, the Saudi peace plan 2002 presented at an Arab summit in Beirut in March 2002 went back to a multi-lateral approach and in particular signaled desire by the Arab world as a whole to put an end to this dispute. Under the plan, called the Arab Peace Inititative, Israel would withdraw to the lines of June 1967, a Palestinian state would be set up in the West Bank and Gaza and there would be a "just solution" of the refugee issue. In return, Arab countries would recognise Israel. The plan was re-endorsed by another Arab sunimit in Riyadh in 2007.

Its strength is the support given by Arab countries to a two-state solution. Its weakness is that the parties have to negotiate the same issues on which they have failed so far. In 2002, Israel started construction of a large defensive security fence in the West Bank supposedly to stop terrorists from making their way into Israeli cities and settlements. While it mostly seems to have worked, those large fences have drawn international criticism for going quite far into Palestinian land not Israeli land. Israel also continued controversial settlement programs in disputed areas.

Bush and Israel's displeasure with Arafat is reflected in public. In June, US President George Bush stated in a speech, "I call upon the Palestinian people to elect new leaders" and for Israel, "I challenge Israel to take concrete steps to support the emergence of a viable, credible Palestinian state." This was widely criticized for amounting to an open call for regime change.

The Roadmap 2003 is a plan drawn up by the "Quartet" - the United States, Russia, the European Union and the United Nations. It does not lay down the details of a final settlement, but suggests how a settlement might be approached. It followed efforts made by US Senator George Mitchell to get the peace process back on track in 2001. The plan was preceded by an important statement in June 2002 by President George W Bush who became the first US president to call for a Palestinian state. It proposed a phased timetable, putting the establishment of security before a final settlement. It is designed to create confidence, leading to final status talks.

Phase 1: Both sides would issue statements supporting the two-state solution, the Palestinians would end violence, act against "all those engaged in terror", draw up a constitution, hold elections and the Israelis would stop settlement activities and act with military restraint

Phase 2: Would see the creation, at an international conference, of a Palestinian state with "provisional borders"

Phase 3: Final agreement talks

The road map has not been implemented. Its timetable called for the final agreement to be reached in 2005. It has largely been overtaken by events, but remains a reference point for negotiations.

While official efforts foundered, an informal agreement was announced in December 2003 by Israeli and Palestinian figures - Yossi Beilin, one of the architects of Oslo, on the Israeli side, and former Palestinian Information Minister Yasser Abed Rabbo on the other.

The Geneva Accord 2003 reverses the concept of the roadmap, in which the growth of security and confidence precede a political agreement, and puts the agreement first, which is then designed to produce security and peace. Its main compromise is that the Palestinians effectively give up their "right of return" in exchange for almost the whole of the West Bank, though there could be a token return by a few. Israel would give up some major settlements such as Ariel, but keep others closer to the border, with swaps of land in Israel for any taken in the West Bank. Palestinians would have the right to have their capital in East Jerusalem, though with Israeli sovereignty over the Western Wall in the Old City.

Another unofficial agreement was one drawn up by a former head of the Israeli Shin Bet internal security service Ami Ayalon and a former PLO representative in Jerusalem Sari Nusseibeh. This envisaged a return to the 1967 lines, an open city of Jerusalem and an end to the Palestinian claim to a right of return to former homes. In 2003, Israel stepped up its campaign against Hamas, the chief organization behind the suicide attacks of recent years. Arafat himself and his ruling fatah party are also being seen increasingly as corrupt and ineffective by Palestinians themselves. In the same year, the US (who, together with Israel refused to negotiate directly with the President, Yasser Arafat), backed Arafat's selection for Palestinian Prime Minister, Mahmoud Abbas, and they all pushed for a road map peace plan towards a two-state solution. While Palestinian militants announced a ceasefire, Israel continued to assassinate militant leaders. Relative calm only lasted a few weeks, after more targetted assassination and suicide bombings. Abbas resigned soon after, seemingly frustrated by the internal politics. Ahmed Qurei replaced him, seen as more friendly to Arafat.

In 2004, Sharon announced a withdrawal of troops and settlements from the Gaza Strip, but a commitment to the largest settlements in the West Bank. Suicide bombings and Israeli air strikes continued and Israel achieved the assassination of Hamas's spiritual leader Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, and a senior leader shortly after, Abdel-Aziz al-Rantissi. On the West Bank, the security fence construction continued, despite continuing protests. Israel's high court demanded route changes. The International Criminal Court said the barrier was illegal, but Israel is not bound to it, so ignored it.

Turmoil within Palestine increased as Hamas, Fatah, Islamic Jihad and others turned on each other, amid disputes on how to reform the security forces. In November Arafat died of a mysterious blood disorder and Abbas became chairman of the PLO. Despite growing criticism of his leadership in recent years, the outpouring of sorrow and people coming to mourn his death is enormous. At the beginning of 2005, Abbas was elected as Palestinian Authority president. He managed to get Hamas and Islamic Jihad to agree to a temporary ceasefire. Sharon, meanwhile survived attempts to recall him as his withdrawal from Gaza was not popular amongst Israel's right wing. By September, withdrawal from the Gaza Strip was complete, despite passionate resistance and protest from settlers.

Towards the end of 2005, Israel's Prime Minister, Sharon, resigned from the right wing Likud party, forming a more centrist Kadima party that quickly gained popularity. Former Prime Minister Shimon Peres, who recently lost leadership of the left wing Labour Party also joined Kadima, lending credence to the view that Sharon was distancing himself from the right wing ideology of a greater Israel, and more in favor of negotiated peace with the Palestinians (the Labour Party has long called for a two-party solution, but has been critical of the Jewish settlements in occupied territories).

Through the recent years, anger and frustration has mounted as the larger, but poorer Palestinian population also find themselves with the lesser land. This has been further fuelled by Israeli bull-dozing of many homes and attempts to leaders which often end in death or capture of innocent civilians (including women and children). In addition, while Israel demanded that the ineffective Palestinian National Authority does something to crack down on suicide bombers and other terrorist elements within its territories, it continued bombing official buildings and compounds (making any attempts to crack down on such elements futile). This also increased the power, authority, and influence of more extreme groups such as Hamas that did not like the idea of peace with Israel—it wanted the destruction of the Jewish homeland.

The start of 2006 saw the more extreme Hamas organization gain power. Hamas has been listed by many countries as a terrorist organization, though others see it as an independence movement. However, its means are certainly terrorist in nature, often employing suicide attacks on Israeli civilians. Probably less well known than its militant tendencies has been the other reasons for its popularity. The Palestinian Authority often fails to provide such services; Hamas' efforts in this area—as well as a reputation for honesty, in contrast to the many Fatah officials accused of corruption—help to explain the broad popularity it summoned to defeat Fatah in the PA's recent elections.

Ehud Olmert became Israel's new Prime Minister in April 2006, after serious illness befell Sharon, and the Israeli Cabinet declared him incapacitated. U.S. involvement in the Middle East has also been seen as a critical issue. The U.S. and West's interests in the wider region has generally been due to oil. Israel and Palestinian territories do not have oil themselves, but are surrounded by states that do. Strong military and financial support of Israel lends well to having a powerful ally in the region.

While the UN Security Council has attempted to pass numerous resolutions critical of Israel the United States has vetoed almost all of them. Nevertheless, there have been some resolutions demanding that Israel return land that was captured in the 1967 war etc (such as UN Resolution 242). The 1948 UN Resolution 181 allowed for both Jews and Arabs to live in Israel, which goes counter to claims of some groups that Israel should not exist. Often the international community is critical of Israeli inaction, but the US veto prevents anything coming of it. Instead, Israeli land expansion and settlements have continued. The US has also provided Israel with enormous military aid, to the extent that in the Middle East, Israel has the most advanced and superior military. Their high tech/military industries are also very advanced. Israel also has nuclear weapons capabilities.

A series of targetted assassinations by Israel against Hamas and Hezbollah, and resulting violent retaliations escalated in mid-2006 with the capture of Israeli soldiers. That led to an escalation of conflict, with air strikes by Israel against Lebanon and Hezbollah, destroying much of the main infrastructure. Hezbollah retaliated with many rockets being fired into cities and towns in Israel. Both sides witnessed massive internal displacement of people and terror. Both Hezbollah and Israel have targetted civilians, and most deaths have been amongst Lebanese civilians.

For ordinary Palestinians, self-rule has been a humiliating disaster. Seven years after Oslo, they are still living under occupation. The basic means of a decent human existence, which acknowledges their distinctive culture, history and suffering, is denied to them. When not completely withheld, their

basic rights and entitlements are represented as concessions generously granted by their overlords. Meanwhile their leaders, frightened of losing their elite privileges and affluent lifestyles, collude with Israel in their betrayal.

An additional source of frustration for the Palestinian people is that the land that is being settled by Israelis is usually prime land, and hence the various peace negotiations usually leave Palestine with the less usable land. Israel also thereby controls water sources. The non-contiguous land (Gaza and West Bank) and the Israeli control over Palestinian movement also mean disconnection. This allows the possibility of providing cheap labour to Israel, so it is in their economic interest to pursue this type of division. The mainstream western media has traditionally capitalized on negative imagery and propaganda against Islam and the Arab world as a sort of way to also justify continued presence and involvement there.

Late in his second presidential term, US President George W Bush hosted a conference at the US Naval Academy at Annapolis known as Annapolis Summit 2007, Maryland aimed at relaunching the peace process. Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert and Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas took part in talks along with officials from the peace-making Quartet and more than a dozen Arab countries, including Saudi Arabia and Syria. This was seen as significant as they do not officially recognise Israel. However the Palestinian group Hamas, which had won parliamentary elections and taken control of the Gaza Strip, was not represented. It declared it would not be bound by anything decided.

A joint understanding was issued by the Israeli and Palestinian leaders to engage in negotiations with the goal of a full peace deal by the end of 2008. They agreed that implementation would wait until confidence-building measures outlined in the "Road Map" had been met. Regular meetings took place between Mr Olmert and Mr Abbas which are said to have made good progress on border issues but these came to an abrupt halt with Israel's military offensive in Gaza in late 2008.

Israeli and Palestinian leaders resumed direct peace negotiations in Washington in September 2010 - their first face-to-face talks since December 2008. But President Barack Obama's push for a new Middle East peace deal faltered just weeks later, when US efforts to get Israel to curb its illegal settlement building on land the Palestinians want for a future state failed. The Palestinian leadership has refused to return to the negotiating table without a renewed ban on Israeli settlements, and the talks have effectively deadlocked. There is little optimism in the region that this latest effort will succeed in resolving issues at the core of one of the world's most intractable conflicts, after nearly two decades of on-off talks have produced few results. After the fanfare of the formal re-launch of talks in Washington on 2 September, the Israeli and Palestinian leaders met just once in the region, and agreed to follow-up talks every two weeks.

But days later, on 26 September, Israel's settlement freeze expired and the talks were suspended. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's fractious coalition government refused to extend the settlement ban. Meanwhile, the Palestinian Authority President, Mahmoud Abbas, got support from the Arab League to stick to his demands for a freeze. On 7 December, despite weeks of diplomacy, US negotiators announced that they had failed to get Israel to renew its settlement ban. But Washington said that it was still committed to securing a peace deal through other means and that it would hold talks with Israeli and Palestinian negotiators in the coming weeks on ways to keep the process alive. Mr Netanyahu says he supports a Palestinian state, but it must be de-militarised, with an Israeli security presence along its eastern side, and it must recognise Israel as a Jewish state. Jerusalem, where the Palestinians want their capital, must remain *Israel's eternal, undivided capital.* This is a tougher stance than that of his predecessor Ehud Olmert, but it remains unclear whether it is an initial bargaining position rather than a statement of un-crossable red lines.

The Palestinians want a viable, independent state in the West Bank and Gaza, with their capital in East Jerusalem. They want the state's territory to be based on the land that Israel occupied in 1967, but are willing to accept a partial land swap, allowing some Israeli settlement blocs to stay in Israel in exchange for territory now in Israel. The US is trying to broker a compromise, given the divergent positions of the parties on the core issues of the conflict.

Direct negotiations between Mr Olmert's government and the Palestinians broke down in December 2008, as Israel launched a major military offensive on the Hamas-ruled Gaza Strip in response, Israel said, to Palestinian rocket fire. This coincided roughly with the end of Mr Olmert's term in office and his replacement by Mr Netanyahu, who took several months even to back publicly the concept of a Palestinian state. The US special envoy to the Middle East, George Mitchell, had to shuttle between Benjamin Netanyahu and Mahmoud Abbas for months to get them back to the negotiating table. During the talks, Mr Olmert and Mr Abbas's teams exchanged maps of possible border solutions, but failed to reach agreement. Mr Olmert says his offer was the most generous ever made to the Palestinians - international supervision of Jerusalem's holy sites, the symbolic return of a few thousand Palestinian refugees and, according to Haaretz newspaper, Israeli withdrawal from 93.7% of the West Bank, plus the equivalent of 5.8% of its area from Israel in a land swap.

Mr Abbas's team said it produced a map which offered to let the Israelis keep 1.9% of the West Bank in exchange for land in Israel. There is little optimism from either side, but President Obama is pushing hard for a deal. As it stands, Mr Netanyahu has little room for manoeuvre as his current coalition includes strongly right-wing parties which would be opposed to even discussing the status of Jerusalem. But he does have the option of bringing the centrist Kadima party into government if he wants to make concessions.

Mr Abbas's position is weak. His democratic mandate has run out - elections are due but cannot be held because of the feud between his Fatah party and the Hamas movement. The two factions are bitterly divided. Hamas, which controls the Gaza Strip, home to 1.5 million Palestinians, is strongly opposed to the negotiations. If Mr Abbas did reach agreement with the Israelis, it would most likely be on terms Hamas would reject, although some of its leaders have suggested they might accept a deal if it was backed in a referendum. The Palestinian leadership has raised the possibility of appealing to the United Nations to declare Palestinian statehood on the 1967 ceasefire lines if the peace talks go nowhere. Meanwhile, it is working to build the economic and security institutions of a functional state by mid-2011. There has been speculation that this might lead to a unilateral declaration of independence by the Palestinians. Although Mr Abbas has ruled this out, the possibility remains troublesome for Israel. There are always fears that failure in the political process can lead to violence on the ground. Also, in a volatile region a conflagration between Israel and Hezbollah in Lebanon, or with Hamas in Gaza, could undermine attempts to make peace.

REVOLUTIONS OF THE WORLD

OUTLINE

1. American Revolution (1764-1789)
   - Introduction
   - Causes
   - Ideology behind the Revolution
   - Controversial British legislation
   - Aftermath
2. The French Revolution (1789-1799)
   - Causes
   - Effects
   - Secular effects of the French Revolution
   - Government effects of the French Revolution
3. The Russian Revolution (1917)
   - Causes
   - Results
4. Iranian Revolution (1978-1979)
   - Causes
   - Aftermath
   - Victory of revolution and fall of monarchy
   - Black Friday and its aftermath
   - Khomeini's return and fall of the monarchy
   - Writing of the constitution
   - Iran–Iraq War
   - International
   - Domestic
5. Chinese Revolution (1949)
   - Causes
   - Effects
6. Young Turk Revolution (1908-1909)
   - Causes
   - Aftermath
7. Cuban Revolution (1953-1959)
   - Causes
   - Pre-1956
   - December 1956 to mid-1958
   - Mid-1958 to January 1959
   - Aftermath
   - Post-1959: After the revolution

ESSAY

1. AMERICAN REVOLUTION (1764-1789)

The American Revolution was the political upheaval during the last half of the 18th century in which thirteen colonies in North America joined together to break free from the British Empire, combining to become the United States of America. They first rejected the authority of the Parliament of Great Britain to govern them from overseas without representation, and then expelled all royal officials. By 1774 each colony had established a Provincial Congress, or an equivalent governmental institution, to form individual self-governing states. The British responded by sending combat troops to re-impose direct rule. Through representatives sent in 1775 to the Second Continental Congress, the new states joined together at first to defend their respective self-governance and manage the armed conflict against the British known as the American Revolutionary War (1775–83, also American War of Independence). Ultimately, the states collectively determined that the British monarchy, by acts of tyranny, could no longer legitimately claim their allegiance. They then severed ties with the British Empire in July 1776, when the Congress issued the United States Declaration of Independence, rejecting the monarchy on behalf of the new sovereign nation. The war ended with effective American victory in October 1781, followed by formal British abandonment of any claims to the United States with the Treaty of Paris in 1783.

The American Revolution was the result of a series of social, political, and intellectual transformations in early American society and government, collectively referred to as the American Enlightenment. Americans rejected the oligarchies common in aristocratic Europe at the time, championing instead the development of republicanism based on the Enlightenment understanding of liberalism. Among the significant results of the revolution was the creation of a democratically-elected representative government responsible to the will of the people. However, sharp political debates erupted over the appropriate level of democracy desirable in the new government, with a number of founders fearing mob rule.

Many fundamental issues of national governance were settled with the ratification of the United States Constitution in 1788, which replaced the relatively weaker first attempt at a national government adopted in 1781, the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union. In contrast to the loose confederation, the Constitution established a strong federated government. The United States Bill of Rights (1791), comprising the first 10 constitutional amendments, quickly followed. It guaranteed many "natural rights" that were influential in justifying the revolution, and attempted to balance a strong national government with relatively broad personal liberties. The American shift to liberal republicanism, and the gradually increasing democracy, caused an upheaval of traditional social hierarchy and gave birth to the ethic that has formed a core of political values in the United States.

Following are the causes of the revolution.

The American Revolution was predicated by a number of ideas and events that, combined, led to a political and social separation of colonial possessions from the home nation and a coalescing of those former individual colonies into an independent nation.

The ideological movement known as the American Enlightenment was a critical precursor to the American Revolution. Chief among the ideas of the American Enlightenment were the concepts of liberalism, democracy, republicanism, and religious tolerance. Collectively, the belief in these concepts by a growing number of American colonists began to foster an intellectual environment which would lead to a new sense of political and social identity.

John Locke's (1632–1704) ideas on liberty greatly influenced the political thinking behind the revolution. John Locke's Two Treatises of Government, published in 1689, influenced the thinking of later philosophers such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), as reflected in Rousseau's 1762 treatise entitled Du "social contract". The theory of the "social contract" influenced the belief among many of the founders that among the "natural rights" of man was the right of the people to overthrow their leaders, should those leaders betray the historic rights of Englishmen. In terms of writing state and national constitutions, the Americans used Montesquieu's analysis of the "balanced" British Constitution.

A motivating force behind the revolution was the American embrace of a political ideology called "republicanism", which was dominant in the colonies by 1775. The republicanism was inspired by the "country party" in Britain, whose critique of British government emphasized that corruption was a terrible reality in Britain. Americans feared the corruption was crossing the Atlantic; the commitment of most Americans to republican values and to their rights, energized the revolution, as Britain was increasingly seen as hopelessly corrupt and hostile to American interests. Britain seemed to threaten the established liberties that Americans enjoyed. The greatest threat to liberty was depicted as corruption—not just in London but at home as well. The colonists associated it with luxury and, especially, inherited aristocracy, which they condemned.

The Revolution was in some ways incited by a number of pieces of legislation originating from the British Parliament that, for Americans, were illegitimate acts of a government that had no right to pass laws on Englishmen in the Americas who did not have elected representation in that government. For the British, policy makers saw these laws as necessary to rein in colonial subjects who, in the name of economic development that was designed to benefit the home nation, had been allowed near-autonomy for too long.

After the war finally ended in 1783, there was a period of prosperity, with the entire world at peace. The national government, still operating under the Articles of Confederation, was able to settle the issue of the western territories, which were ceded by the states to Congress. American settlers moved rapidly into those areas, with Vermont, Kentucky and Tennessee becoming states in the 1790s. However, the national government had no money to pay either the war debts owed to European nations, the private banks, or to Americans who had been given millions of dollars of promissory notes for supplies during the war. Nationalists, led by Washington, Alexander Hamilton and other veterans, feared that the new nation was too fragile to withstand an international war, or even internal revolts such as the Shays' Rebellion of 1786 in Massachusetts.

The national debt after the American Revolution fell into three categories. The first was the $12 million owed to foreigners—mostly money borrowed from France. There was general agreement to pay the foreign debts at full value. The national government owed $40 million and state governments owed $25 million to Americans who had sold food, horses, and supplies to the revolutionary forces. There were also other debts that consisted of promissory notes issued during the Revolutionary War to soldiers, merchants, and farmers who accepted these payments on the premise that the new Constitution would create a government that would pay these debts eventually.

The war expenses of the individual states added up to $114 million compared to $37 million by the central government. In 1790, at the recommendation of first Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton, Congress combined the remaining state debts with the foreign and domestic debts into one national debt totaling $80 million. Everyone received face value for wartime certificates, so that the national honor would be sustained and the national credit established.

After the Revolution, genuinely democratic politics became possible. The rights of the people were incorporated into state constitutions. Thus came the widespread assertion of liberty, individual rights, equality and hostility toward corruption which would prove core values of liberal republicanism to Americans. The greatest challenge to the old order in Europe was the challenge to inherited political power and the democratic idea that government rests on the consent of the governed. The example of the first successful revolution against a European empire, and the first successful establishment of a republican form of democratically elected government, provided a model for many other colonial peoples who realized that they too could break away and become self-governing nations with directly elected representative government.

The American Revolution was the first wave of the Atlantic Revolutions that took hold in the French Revolution, the Haitian Revolution, and the Latin American wars of independence. Aftershocks reached Ireland in the Irish Rebellion of 1798, in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and in the Netherlands.

The Revolution had a strong, immediate impact in Great Britain, Ireland, the Netherlands, and France. Many British and Irish Whigs spoke in favor of the American cause. The Revolution, along with the Dutch Revolt (end of the 16th century) and the English Civil War (in the 17th century), was one of the first lessons in overthrowing an old regime for many Europeans who later were active during the era of the French Revolution, such as Marquis de Lafayette. The American Declaration of Independence had some impact on the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen of 1789. The spirit of the Declaration of Independence led to laws ending slavery in all the Northern states and the Northwest Territory, with New Jersey the last in 1804—long before the British Parliament acted in 1833 to abolish slavery in its colonies.

2. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION (1789-1799)

The French Revolution was a period of radical social and political upheaval in French and European history. The absolute monarchy that had ruled France for centuries collapsed in three years. French society underwent an epic transformation as feudal, aristocratic and religious privileges evaporated under a sustained assault from liberal political groups and the masses on the streets. Old ideas about hierarchy and tradition succumbed to new Enlightenment principles of citizenship and inalienable rights.

The French Revolution began in 1789 with the convocation of the Estates-General in May. The first year of the Revolution witnessed members of the Third Estate proclaiming the Tennis Court Oath in June, the assault on the Bastille in July, the passage of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen in August, and an epic march on Versailles that forced the royal court back to Paris in October. The next few years were dominated by tensions between various liberal assemblies and a conservative monarchy intent on thwarting major reforms. A republic was proclaimed in September 1792 and King Louis XVI was executed the next year. External threats also played a dominant role in the development of the Revolution. The French Revolutionary Wars started in 1792 and ultimately featured spectacular French victories that facilitated the conquest of the Italian peninsula, the Low Countries and most territories west of the Rhine — achievements that had defied previous French governments for centuries. Internally, popular sentiments radicalized the Revolution significantly, culminating in the rise of Maximilien Robespierre and the Jacobins and virtual dictatorship by the Committee of Public Safety during the Reign of Terror from 1793 until 1794 during which between 16,000 and 40,000 people were killed. After the fall of the Jacobins and the execution of Robespierre,

the Directory assumed control of the French state in 1795 and held power until 1799, when it was replaced by the Consulate under Napoleon Bonaparte.

Following are the causes

Economic factors included hunger and malnutrition in the most destitute segments of the population, due to rising bread prices (from a normal 8 sous for a four-pound loaf to 12 sous by the end of 1789), after several years of poor grain harvests. The combination of bad harvests (due to abnormal/severe weather fluctuations) and rising food prices was further aggravated by an inadequate transportation system which hindered the shipment of bulk foods from rural areas to large population centers, contributing greatly to the destabilization of French socicty in the years leading up to the Revolution.

Another cause was the state's effective bankruptcy due to the enormous cost of previous wars, particularly the financial strain caused by French participation in the American Revolutionary War. The national debt amounted to some 1000-2000 million lives. The social burdens caused by war included the huge war debt, made worse by the loss of France's colonial possessions in North America and the growing commercial dominance of Great Britain. France's inefficient and antiquated financial system was unable to manage the national debt, something which was both partially caused and exacerbated by the burden of an inadequate system of taxation. To obtain new money to head off default on the government's loans, the king called an Assembly of Notables in 1787.

Meanwhile, the royal court at Versailles was seen as being isolated from, and indifferent to, the hardships of the lower classes. While in theory King Louis XVI was an absolute monarch, in practice he was often indecisive and known to back down when faced with strong opposition. While he did reduce government expenditures, opponents in the parliament successfully thwarted his attempts at enacting much needed reforms. Those who were opposed to Louis' policies further undermined royal authority by distributing pamphlets (often reporting false or exaggerated information) that criticized the government and its officials, stirring up public opinion against the monarchy.

Many other factors involved resentments and aspirations given focus by the rise of Enlightenment ideals. These included resentment of royal absolutism; resentment by peasants, laborers and the bourgeoisie toward the traditional seigniorial privileges possessed by the nobility; resentment of the Church's influence over public policy and institutions; aspirations for freedom of religion; resentment of aristocratic bishops by the poorer rural clergy; aspirations for social, political and economic equality, and (especially as the Revolution progressed) republicanism; hatred of Queen Marie-Antoinette, who was falsely accused of being a spendthrift and an Austrian spy; and anger toward the King for firing finance minister Jacques Necker, among others, who were popularly seen as representatives of the people.

The French Revolution, though it seemed a failure in 1799 and appeared nullified by 1815, had far-reaching results. In France the bourgeois and landowning classes emerged as the dominant power. Feudalism was dead; social order and contractual relations were consolidated by the Code Napoleon. The Revolution unified France and enhanced the power of the national state. The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars tore down the ancient structure of Europe, hastened the advent of nationalism, and inaugurated the era of modern, total warfare.

Although some historians view the Reign of Terror as an ominous precursor of modern totalitarianism, others argue that this ignores the vital role the Revolution played in establishing the precedents of such democratic institutions as elections, representative government, and constitutions. The failed attempts of the urban lower middle classes to secure economic and political gains foreshadowed the class conflicts of the 19th cent. While major historical interpretations of the French

Revolution differ greatly, nearly all agree that it had an extraordinary influence on the making of the modern world.

Disorder became a common scene after the storming of the Bastille in 1789. After a few years the French intellectuals who rode the banner of liberalism as the forerunners of the revolution issued the Declaration of the Rights of Man. Through this document they aimed at shifting the authority of issuing basic human rights from the Church, or God so to say, to the state government. The King's crown that was a symbol of Catholic Christianity was replaced with a red liberty cap that represented the state as authority.

In the same year the National assembly of the new parliament seized all the Church lands to further suppress religion and enrich itself. Furthermore, an end was put to all kinds of religious orders and monastic vows. Through the Civil Constitution of the Clergy the government took direct control over all religious proceedings and took the authority of selecting Pastors and Bishops who were to take oath under the new government. All those priests who refused to take oath under the new government were arrested and banned from operating underground chapels.

3. THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION (1917)

The Russian Revolution is the collective term for a series of revolutions in Russia in 1917, which destroyed the Tsarist autocracy and led to the creation of the Soviet Union. The Tsar was deposed and replaced by a provisional government in the first revolution of February 1917 (March in the Gregorian calendar; the older Julian calendar was in use in Russia at the time). In the second revolution, during October, the Provisional Government was removed and replaced with a Bolshevik (Communist) government.

The February Revolution (March 1917) was a revolution focused around Petrograd (now St. Petersburg). In the chaos, members of the Imperial parliament or Duma assumed control of the country, forming the Russian Provisional Government. The army leadership felt they did not have the means to suppress the revolution and Tsar Nicholas II of Russia, the last Tsar of Russia, abdicated. The Soviets (workers' councils), which were led by more radical socialist factions, initially permitted the Provisional Government to rule, but insisted on a prerogative to influence the government and control various militias. The February Revolution took place in the context of heavy military setbacks during the First World War, which left much of the army in a state of mutiny.

A period of dual power ensued, during which the Provisional Government held state power while the national network of Soviets, led by socialists, had the allegiance of the lower-class citizens and the political left. During this chaotic period there were frequent mutinies and many strikes. When the Provisional Government chose to continue fighting the war with Germany, the Bolsheviks and other socialist factions campaigned for the abandonment of the war effort. The Bolsheviks formed workers militias under their control into the Red Guards (later the Red Army) over which they exerted substantial control.

In the October Revolution (November in the Gregorian calendar), the Bolshevik party, led by Vladimir Lenin, and the workers' Soviets, overthrew the Provisional Government in St Petersburg. The Bolsheviks appointed themselves as leaders of various government ministries and seized control of the countryside, establishing the Cheka to quash dissent. To end the war, the Bolshevik leadership signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany in March 1918.

Civil war erupted between the "Red" (Bolshevik), and "White" (anti-Bolshevik) factions, which was to continue for several years, with the Bolsheviks ultimately victorious. In this way, the Revolution paved the way for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). While many notable

historical events occurred in Moscow and St Petersburg, there was also a broad-based movement in cities throughout the state, among national minorities throughout the empire, and in the rural areas, where peasants took over and redistributed land.

Following are the causes of the revolution

The revolution was the culmination of a long period of repression and unrest. From the time of Peter I (Peter the Great), the Czardom increasingly became an autocratic bureaucracy that imposed its will on the people by force, with wanton disregard for human life and liberty. As Western technology was adopted by the czars, Western humanitarian ideals were acquired by a group of educated Russians. Among this growing intelligentsia, the majority of whom were abstractly humanitarian and democratic, there were also those who were politically radical and even revolutionary. The university became a seat of revolutionary activity; nihilism, anarchism, and later Marxism were espoused and propagated.

The reforms of Alexander II brought the emancipation of the serfs and opened the way for industrial development. However, emancipation imposed harsh economic conditions on the peasants and did not satisfy their need for farmland. Industrialization concentrated people in urban centers, where the exploited working class was a receptive audience for radical ideas. A reactionary and often ignorant clergy kept religion static and persecuted religious dissenters. Pogroms were instituted against the Jews, which turned many radical Jews to Zionism. Non-Russian nationalities in the empire were repressed.

By 1903, Russia was divided into several political groups. The autocracy was upheld by the landed nobility and the higher clergy; the capitalists desired a constitutional monarchy; the liberal bourgeoisie made up the bulk of the group that later became the Constitutional Democratic party; peasants and intelligentsia were incorporated into the Socialist Revolutionary party; and the workers, influenced by Marxism, were represented in the Bolshevik and Menshevik wings of the Social Democratic Labour party.

Despite being allowed to seize power so easily Lenin soon discovered that his support was far from absolute. His Peace Policy with the Germans was particularly unpopular as it ceded large amounts of Russian territory. Shortly after the October Revolution, the Russian Civil War broke out between the 'Reds' (Communists) and the 'Whites' (Nationalists, Conservatives, Imperialists and other anti-Bolshevik groups). After a bloody four year struggle Lenin and the Reds won, establishing the Soviet Union in 1922, at an estimated cost of 15 million lives and billions of roubles. In 1923 Lenin died and Stalin took over the Communist Party, which continued to rule Russia until 1991 when the USSR was dissolved.

4. IRANIAN REVOLUTION (1978-1979)

The Iranian Revolution refers to events involving the overthrow of Iran's monarchy under Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi and its replacement with an Islamic republic under Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, the leader of the revolution.

Demonstrations against the Shah commenced in October 1977, developing into a campaign of civil resistance that was partly secular and partly religious, and intensified in January 1978. Between August and December 1978 strikes and demonstrations paralyzed the country. The Shah left Iran for exile in mid-January 1979, and in the resulting power vacuum two weeks later Ayatollah Khomeini returned to Tehran to a greeting by several million Iranians. The royal regime collapsed shortly after on February 11 when guerrillas and rebel troops overwhelmed troops loyal to the Shah in armed street

fighting. Iran voted by national referendum to become an Islamic Republic on April 1, 1979, and to approve a new theocratic constitution whereby Khomeini became Supreme Leader of the country in December 1979.

Following are the causes of this revolution

The revolution was populist, nationalist and later Shia Islamic. It was in part a conservative backlash against the Westernizing and secularizing efforts of the Western-backed Shah, and a liberal backlash to social injustice and other shortcomings of the ancient régime. The Shah was perceived by many as beholden to — if not a puppet of — a non-Muslim Western power (the United States) whose culture was affecting that of Iran.

The Shah's regime was seen by his opposition as oppressive, brutal, corrupt, and extravagant; it also suffered from basic functional failures — an over-ambitious economic program that brought economic bottlenecks, shortages and inflation. Security forces were unable to deal with protest and demonstrations; Iran was an overly centralized royal power structure. The extraordinarily large size of the anti-shah movement meant that there "were literally too many protesters to arrest", and that the security forces were overwhelmed.

That the revolution replaced monarchy and Shah Pahlavi with Islamism and Khomeini, rather than another leader and ideology, is credited in part to the spread of the Shia version of the Islamic revival that opposed Westernization, saw Ayatollah Khomeini as following in the footsteps of the beloved Shia Imam Hussain ibn Ali, and the Shah in those of Husayn's foe, the hated tyrant Yazid I. Also thought responsible was the underestimation of Khomeini's Islamist movement by both the Shah's regime — who considered them a minor threat compared to the Marxists and Islamic socialists and by the secularist opponents of the regime — who thought the Khomeinists could be sidelined.

By mid-December the shah's position had deteriorated to the point where he "wanted only to be allowed to stay in Iran." He was turned down by the opposition. In late December, "he agreed to leave the country temporarily; still he was turned down." On January 16, 1979 the Shah and the empress left Iran. Scenes of spontaneous joy followed and "within hours almost every sign of the Pahlavi dynasty" was destroyed.

Bakhtiar dissolved SAVAK, freed political prisoners, ordered the army to allow mass demonstrations, promised free elections and invited Khomeinists and other revolutionaries into a government of "national unity". After stalling for a few days Bakhtiar allowed Ayatollah Khomeini to return to Iran, asking him to create a Vatican-like state in Qom and calling upon the opposition to help preserve the constitution.

A new prime minister, Jafar Sharif-Emami, was installed in late August and reversed some of the Shah's policies. Casinos were closed, the imperial calendar abolished, activity by political parties legalized — to no avail. By September, the nation was rapidly destabilizing, and major protests were becoming a regular occurrence. The Shah introduced martial law, and banned all demonstrations but on September 8 thousands of protesters gathered in Tehran. Security forces shot and killed dozens, in what became known as Black Friday.

On February 1, 1979 Ayatollah Khomeini returned to Tehran in a chartered Air France Boeing 747. The welcoming crowd of several million Iranians was so large he was forced to take a helicopter after the car he was being transported in from the airport was overwhelmed by an enthusiastic welcoming crowd. Khomeini was now not only the undisputed leader of the revolution, he had become what some called a "semi-divine" figure, greeted as he descended from his airplane with cries of 'Khomeini, O Imam, we salute you. 'Crowds were now known to chant "Islam, Islam, Khomeini, We Will Follow You," and even "Khomeini for King."

In June 1979, the Freedom Movement released its draft constitution for the Islamic Republic that it had been working on since Khomeini was in exile. It included a Guardian Council to veto un Islamic legislation, but had no guardian jurist ruler. Leftists found the draft too conservative and in need of major changes but Khomeini declared it `correct`. To approve the new constitution and prevent leftist alterations, a relatively small seventy-three-member Assembly of Experts for Constitution was elected that summer. Critics complained that "vote-rigging, violence against undesirable candidates and the dissemination of false information" was used to "produce an assembly overwhelmingly dominated by clergy loyal to Khomeini."

Khomeini (and the assembly) now rejected the constitution — its correctness notwithstanding — and Khomeini declared that the new government should be based "100% on Islam."

In addition to the president, the new constitution included a more powerful post of guardian jurist ruler intended for Khomeini, with control of the military and security services, and power to appoint several top government and judicial officials. It increased the power and number of clerics on the Council of Guardians and gave it control over elections as well as laws passed by the legislature.

In September 1980, the Arab Nationalist and Sunni Muslim-dominated regime of Saddam Hussein in neighboring Iraq invaded Iran in an attempt to take advantage of revolutionary chaos and destroy the revolution in its infancy. Iran was "galvanized" and Iranians rallied behind their new government helping to stop and then reversing the Iraqi advance. By early 1982 Iran regained almost all the territory lost to the invasion.

Like the hostage crisis, the war served in part as an opportunity for the regime to strengthen revolutionary ardor and revolutionary groups such as the Revolutionary Guard and committees at the expense of its remaining allies-turned-opponents, such as the MEK.

Internationally, the initial impact of the revolution was immense. In the non-Muslim world it changed the image of Islam, generating much interest in Islam — both sympathetic and hostile — and even speculation that the revolution might change "the world balance of power more than any political event since Hitler's conquest of Europe."

The Islamic Republic positioned itself as a revolutionary beacon under the slogan "neither East nor West" (i.e. neither Soviet nor American/West European models), and called for the overthrow of capitalism, American influence, and social injustice in the Middle East and the rest of the world. Revolutionary leaders in Iran gave and sought support from non-Muslim causes in the Third World — e.g. the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, IRA in Ireland and anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa — even to the point of favoring non-Muslim revolutionaries over Islamic causes such as the neighboring Afghan Mujahideen.

In the Mideast and Muslim world, particularly in its early years, it triggered enormous enthusiasm and redoubled opposition to western intervention and influence. Islamist insurgents rose in Saudi Arabia (1979), Egypt (1981), Syria (1982), and Lebanon (1983).

Although ultimately only the Lebanese Islamists succeeded, other activities have had more long term impact. The Ayatollah Khomeini's 1989 fatwa calling for the killing of British citizen Salman Rushdie had international impact. The Islamic revolutionary government itself is credited with helping establish Hezbollah in Lebanon and the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq.

Internally, the revolution has brought a broadening of education and health care for the poor, and particularly governmental promotion of Islam, and the elimination of secularism and American influence in government. Fewer changes have occurred in terms of political freedom, governmental honesty and efficiency, economic equality and self-sufficiency, or even popular religious devotion. Opinion polls and observers report widespread dissatisfaction, including a "rift" between the

revolutionary generation and younger Iranians who find it "impossible to understand what their parents were so passionate about."

5. CHINESE REVOLUTION (1949)

The Chinese Revolution in 1949 refers to the final stage of military conflict (1948–1952) in the Chinese Civil War. In some anti-revisionist communist media and historiography, as well as the official media of the Communist Party of China, this period is known as the War of Liberation.

With the breakdown of peace talks between the Kuomintang or Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT), and the Communist Party of China (CPC), an all-out war between these two forces resumed. The Soviet Union provided limited aid to the communists, and the United States assisted the Nationalists with hundreds of millions of dollars worth of military supplies and equipment (now surplus PLA munitions), as well as the airlifting of many Nationalist troops from central China to Manchuria, an area Chiang Kai-Shek saw as strategically vital to defend Nationalist-controlled areas against a communist advance.

The communists were well established in the north and northeast. The Nationalists, who had an advantage in both numbers of men and weapons, controlled a much larger territory and population than their adversaries and enjoyed considerable world support including direct support from the United States, nevertheless suffered from a lack of morale and rampant corruption that greatly reduced their ability to fight, as well as their domestic civilian support. Crucially, during World War II, while Nationalists and Communists were in an alliance against fascist forces (chiefly Japanese troops and their Chinese supporters), the best of the Nationalist troops had already been wounded or killed while the communists had suffered minimal losses. By the time the Chinese Civil War was drawing to a close, Nationalist forces were surviving almost entirely by the grace of their international capitalist sympathisers.

Belatedly, the Nationalist government also sought to enlist popular support through internal reforms. The effort was in vain because of both rampant corruption in government and the accompanying political and economic chaos, including massive hyperinflation. By late 1948 the Nationalist position was extremely bleak. The demoralized and undisciplined Nationalist troops proved no match for the much more well-formed communist People's Liberation Army. The latter had managed to not only maintain much of their formations' basic structure and leadership all the way through World War 2, but also through all of the Civil War period, as well. In fact, in all, the Communist Party had actively been working towards their moment of victory from even before the World War 2 period, making their total efforts in the field more than 20 years long (1929-49) .

After numerous operational setbacks in Manchuria, especially in attempting to take the major cities, the communists were finally able to seize the region and capture large Nationalist formations. This provided them with the tanks, heavy artillery, and other combined-arms assets needed to prosecute offensive operations south of the Great Wall. In January 1949 Beijing was taken by the communists without a fight, and its name was changed back to Beijing. Between April and November, major cities passed from Nationalist to Communist control with minimal resistance. In most cases the surrounding countryside and small towns had come under Communist influence long before the cities — part of the strategy of people's war outlined by Mao. One of the decisive battles was the Huai Hai Campaign.

Ultimately, the People's Liberation Army was victorious. On October 1, 1949 Mao Zedong proclaimed the establishment of the People's Republic of China. Chiang Kai-shek, 600,000 Nationalist troops, and about two million Nationalist-sympathizer refugees, predominantly from the former government and business communities of the mainland, retreated to the island of Taiwan and proclaimed the Republic of China. After that, there remained only isolated pockets of resistance to the Communists on the mainland, such as in the far south. A PRC attempt to take the ROC-controlled island of Kinmen was thwarted in the Battle of Kuningtou, halting a PLA advance towards Taiwan. In December 1949 Chiang proclaimed Taipei, Taiwan the temporary capital of the Republic, and continued to assert his government as the sole legitimate authority of all China, while the PRC government did likewise. The last fighting between Nationalist and Communist forces ended with the communist capture of Hainan Island in May 1950.

Following are the causes of the revolution:

While revolution in China began with reaction to imperialism and was influenced by Western ideas, in the end, it was the internal pressures and the lack of reforms by the Kuomintang regime that are the most important reasons for the 1949 revolution, bringing the Communists to power. The Kuomintang regime failed to adequately deal with the condition of the peasant masses and with the conditions of the urban classes. In Origins of the Chinese Revolution, 1915-1949 Lucien Bianco writes, "Discontent and the bankruptcy of rural society created an inexhaustible supply of potential revolutionaries, but it was the Chinese Communist Party that gave this blind force purpose and direction." Almost nothing was done to satisfy the peasants' most basic needs. No steps were taken to protect them against excesses and the violence on the part of the military. Nothing was done to reform and expand the system of agriculture, or to reduce the despair caused by land tax and land rent. It was this failure to deal with the China's rural social conflict that contributed the most to the Chinese Revolution.

The Chinese Revolution in 1949 altered the structure of Chinese society both in the immediate case and in the long term. The long term change included modernization of the economy and a shift. The effort to change Chinese society began before the Revolution, with the efforts of the Communists first to attract people to their cause and second to make that cause understandable as a force which would empower the people and lead them to revolution. After the Revolution, efforts at changing society were undertaken in a more methodical and all-inclusive manner. Many traditional institutions were dismantled, prohibited, or downgraded in the effort to modernize and to bring about a new political and social attitude on the part of the people. These efforts had varying results and were of varying effectiveness. Some traditional institutions persisted in spite of Communist efforts to stamp them out, while other areas of the society were changed completely.

6. YOUNG TURK REVOLUTION (1908-1909)

The Young Turk Revolution of 1908 reversed the suspension of the Ottoman parliament by Sultan Abdul Hamid II, marking the onset of the Second Constitutional Era. A landmark in the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, the Revolution arose from an unlikely union of reform-minded pluralists, Turkish nationalists, Western-oriented secularists, and indeed anyone who accorded the Sultan political blame for the harried state of the Empire.

The Revolution restored the parliament, which had been suspended by the Sultan in 1878. However, the process of supplanting the monarchic institutions with constitutional institutions and electoral policies was neither as simple nor as bloodless as the regime change. The periphery of the Empire continued to splinter under the pressures of local revolutions.

The Revolution restored the parliament, which had been suspended by the Sultan in 1878. However, the process of replacing existing institutions with constitutional institutions proved much more difficult than expected and before long power was invested in a new elite, led by the Grand Vizier. The movement wanted to modernize and democratize on the one hand while on the other it wanted to preserve what was left of the empire. The promised decentralization was abandoned when the leaders realized that this compromised security. In fact, the periphery of the Empire continued to splinter under pressure from local revolutions. Indifference from former allies such as the British which, as did France had ambitions in the region, the Young Turks were compelled to embrace Germany as an ally in the hope that this would preserve the empire. Instead, this alliance led to the Ottoman defeat in World War I and to the end of their own power after the war. However, they laid some of the ground on which the new nation-state of Turkey would be built under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, himself a Young Turk. The potential democratization project represented by the Young Turk Revolution had at the time no parallel among other imperial powers, such as the British and French, whose leaders were nowhere near contemplating granting self-determination to their African and Asian possessions.

Following are the causes

The Young Turk movement began among exiled Ottomans in places such as Paris and Geneva. It was influenced by the French Revolution and in turn influenced the Constitution of 1876. That Constitution had been suspended by the autocratic Sultan, Abdul Hamid II in 1878. The movement, however, continued to gather momentum. The Young Turks wanted a democratic solution to the Empire's problems, which included the need for economic reform, tax reform and halting any further disintegration. From 1881, Ottoman finances were handled by the Ottoman Public Debt Administration, appointed by European creditors. Almost all Balkan provinces were now independent states. Although nationalistic, the Young Turk movement opted for a multi-ethnic understanding of the Ottoman space. By granting greater autonomy to different ethnic groups it hoped to preserve the Empire. The movement was "fighting for the modernization and strengthening of the Empire, under Western constitutional principles, and these included the equality of all races." On the one hand, Europe's emerging constitutional monarchies provided the model they wanted to imitate; on the other hand, they wanted to end European influence and interference in Ottoman affairs. Support for the movement came from diverse groups, including some of the different ethnic and religious communities. In 1906, the various Diaspora-based organization united with the Salonika-based Ottoman Society for Liberty to form the "Committee of Union and Progress" (CUP), effectively a political party. This new organization was dominated by the officers of the Third Army. Fearing the army, the Sultan was starving it of funds. In an effort to "throttle the conspiracy" the Sultan deployed thousands of secret agents but it continued to thrive. Although some members wanted to abolish the sultanate, most wanted to impose constitutional limitations on the sultan's power. From the outset, members believed that a revolution would be necessary to end the sultan's authoritarian rule.

The revolution was in essence the overthrow of the Sultan's autocratic power by the upper class Turks, and the substitution therefore, of parliamentary government under their control. The earlier attempt to secure constitutional government, connected with the name of Midhat Pasha and resulting in the constitution of December 23, 1876, was a failure, due to the lack at that time of any feeling for its necessity among the ruling caste. Thirty years of increasingly centralized government, the universal espionage which made all life miserable, the assassination or exile of all who opposed the régime in the slightest detail, the loss of territory and of prestige, the consciousness that the economic penetration of the foreign powers could end only in the dissolution of the Empire, forced the Turks of all classes to consider the constitution their only salvation. The leaders in Paris studied in detail

successful revolutions of the past, arranged their differences as between radical and conservative, invited in the other nationalistic revolutionary parties, especially the Armenians, but retained control in their own hands.

Discontent within the 3rd Army Corps in Macedonia was the main reason for the revolt. Major Ahmed Niyazi, fearing discovery of his political moves by an investigatory committee sent from the capital, decamped from Resen on July 3, 1908 with 200 followers demanding restoration of the constitution. The sultan's attempt to suppress this uprising failed due to the popularity of the movement among the troops themselves. Rebellion spread rapidly. On July 24, Abdül Hamid announced restoration of the constitution.

A significant result of the 1908 Young Turk Revolution was

- The gradual creation of new governing elite.
- Indirectly led to the deposition of Sultan Abdul Hamid II in favor of Mehmed V the following year
- Opening a path for consolidation over the Ottoman civil and military administration. Coup of 1913.
- Young Turks, small organizations, consolidated under the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP).
- Committee of Union and Progress became the new power center in Ottoman politics.
- Armenian Revolutionary Federation replaced the pre-1908 Armenian elite, which had been composed of merchants, artisans, and clerics who had seen their future in obtaining more privileges within the boundaries of the state's version of Ottomanism.
- The Muslim Albanian elite, who had greatly benefited from the Hamidian regime in return for their fidelity to the sultan, was also replaced by an intellectual-nationalist elite. With members such as Bajram Curri, Nexhib Draga, and Myfit Libohova, the revolution aimed at uniting Albanians of three different faiths under the flag of Skenderbeu and called for reforms for the benefit of all Albanians.
- In some communities, such as the Jewish (cf. Jews in Islamic Europe and North Africa and History of the Jews in Turkey), reformist groups emulating the Young Turks ousted the conservative ruling elite and replaced them with a new reformist one.

7. CUBAN REVOLUTION (1953-1959)

The Cuban Revolution was a successful armed revolt by Fidel Castro's 26th of July Movement that overthrew the U.S.-backed Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista on 1 January 1959.

There were several key events in Cuba's history which affected the Cuban revolution. The main catalysts for the revolution are Cuba's separation from Spanish rule in 1898, the American interest and influence on Cuba (1783 to the 1950's), the rise of the Batista regime into government (1940 to 1959), Castro's fight and overall succession in 1959 and the involvement of the Cold War on Cuba (1960 to 1991).

The Cuban revolution began when poorly armed rebels attacked the Moncada Barracks in Santiago and the barracks in Bayamo on 26 July 1953. The exact number of rebels killed is debatable, however in his autobiography, Fidel Castro claims that five were killed in the fighting, and an additional fifty-six were killed later by the Batista regime. Among the dead was Abel Santamaría, second-in-command of the assault on the Moncada Barracks, who was imprisoned, tortured, and executed the same day of the attack. The survivors, among them Fidel Castro and his brother Raúl

Castro Ruz, were captured shortly afterwards. Fidel Castro was sentenced to 15 years in the presidio modelo prison, located on Isla de Pinos; Raúl was sentenced to 13 years.

In 1955, under broad political pressure, the Batista regime freed all political prisoners in Cuba – including the Moncada attackers. Batista was persuaded to include the Castro brothers in this release in part by Fidel's Jesuit childhood teachers.

The Castro brothers joined with other exiles in Mexico to prepare a revolution to overthrow Batista, receiving training from Alberto Bayo, a leader of Republican forces in the Spanish Civil War. Fidel met and joined forces with Ernesto Che Guevara during this period.

The Granma arrived in Cuba on 2 December 1956. It arrived in Cuba two days later than planned because the boat was heavily loaded, unlike during the practice sailing runs. This dashed any hopes for a coordinated attack with the llano wing of the movement. After arriving and exiting the ship, the band of rebels began to make their way into the Sierra Maestra mountains, a range in southeastern Cuba. Three days after the trek began, Batista's army attacked and killed most of the Granma participants, but a small number escaped. While the exact number is in dispute, no more than twenty of the original eighty-two men survived the initial bloody encounters with the Cuban army and succeeded in fleeing to the Sierra Maestra Mountains. The group of survivors included Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, Raúl Castro, and Camilo Cienfuegos.

On 13 March 1957, a separate group of revolutionaries – the student anticommunist Revolutionary Directorate – stormed the Presidential Palace in Havana, attempting to assassinate Batista and decapitate the regime. The attack was suicidal. The RD's leader, student Jose Antonio Echeverria, died in a shootout with Batista's forces at the Havana radio station he had seized to spread news of Batista's death. The handful of survivors included Dr. Humberto Castello (later Inspector General in the Escambray), and Rolando Cubela and Faure Chomon (later Commandantes of the 13 March Movement, centered in the Escambray Mountains of Las Villas Province).

The United States imposed an embargo on the Cuban government and recalled its ambassador, weakening the government's mandate further. Batista's support was limited to communists (PSP) and even they began to pull their long-term support in mid-1958.

The regime resorted to often lethal methods to keep Cuba's cities under Batista's control. But in the Sierra Maestra Mountains, Castro, aided by Frank País, Ramos Latour, Huber Matos, and many others, staged successful attacks on small garrisons of Batista's troops. Che Guevara and Raúl Castro helped Fidel to consolidate political control in the mountains, often through execution of suspected Batista loyalists or other Castro rivals. In addition, poorly armed irregulars known as escopeteros harassed the Batista forces in the foothills and plains of Oriente Province. The escopeteros also provided direct military support to Castro's main forces by protecting supply lines and by sharing intelligence. Ultimately, the mountains came under Castro's control.

In addition to armed resistance, Batista's regime also confronted a pirate radio station called Rebel Radio (Radio Rebelde), set up in February 1958. Castro and his forces broadcast their message to everyone from within enemy territory. The radio broadcasts were made possible by Carlos Franqui, a previous acquaintance of Castro who subsequently became a Cuban exile in Puerto Rico.

During this time, Castro's forces remained quite small in numbers, sometimes less than 200 men, while the Cuban army and police force numbered between 30,000 and 40,000 in strength. Yet nearly every time the army fought against the revolutionaries, the army was forced to retreat. The Cuban military proved remarkably ineffective. An arms embargo – imposed on the Cuban government by the United States government on 14 March 1958 – caused increasing problems for the Batista

Castro went to the United States later on to explain his revolution. He said, "I know what the world thinks of us, we are Communists, and of course I have said very clearly that we are not Communists; very clearly."

Hundreds of suspected Batista-era agents, policemen and soldiers were put on public trial for human rights abuses and war crimes, including murder and torture. Most of those convicted in revolutionary tribunals of political crimes were executed by firing squad, and the rest received long prison sentences. One of the most notorious examples of revolutionary justice was the execution of over 70 captured Batista regime soldiers, directed by Raúl Castro after capturing Santiago. For his part in Havana, Che Guevara was appointed supreme prosecutor in La Cabaña Fortress. This was part of a large-scale attempt by Fidel Castro to cleanse the security forces of Batista loyalists and potential opponents of the new revolutionary regime. Others were fortunate to be dismissed from the army and police without prosecution, and some high-ranking officials in the ancien régime were exiled as military attachés.

In 1961, after the Bay of Pigs Invasion, the new Cuban government also nationalized all property held by religious organizations including the Roman Catholic Church. Hundreds of members of the church, including a bishop, were permanently expelled from the nation, with the new Cuban government being officially atheist. Faria describes how the education of children changed as Cuba became officially an atheist state: private schools were banned and the progressively socialist state assumed greater responsibility for children.

According to geographer and Cuban Comandante Antonio Núñez Jiménez, 75% of Cuba's best arable land was owned by foreign individuals or foreign (mostly U.S.) companies. One of the first policies by the newly formed Cuban government was eliminating illiteracy and implementing land reforms. Land reform efforts helped to raise living standards by subdividing larger holdings into cooperatives. Comandante Sori Marin, nominally in charge of land reform, objected and fled, but was eventually executed. Many other non-Marxist, anti-Batista rebel leaders were forced in to exile, purged in executions, or eliminated in failed uprisings such as that of the Beaton brothers.

Shortly after taking power, Castro also created a Revolutionary militia to expand his power base among the former rebels and the supportive population. Castro also initiated Committees for the Defense of the Revolution or CDRs in late September 1960. Informants became rampant within the population. CDRs were tasked with keeping "vigilance against counter-revolutionary activity." Local CDRs were also tasked with keeping a detailed record of each neighborhood's inhabitant's spending habits, level of contact with foreigners, their work and education history, and any "suspicious" behaviour.

By the end of 1960, the revolutionary government had nationalized more than 25 billion dollars worth of private property owned by Cubans. Cuba also nationalized all United States and other foreign-owned property in the nation on 6 August 1960. The United States, in turn, responded by freezing all Cuban assets in the United States, severing diplomatic ties, and tightening the embargo on Cuba, which is still in place after 50 years. In response to the acts of the Eisenhower administration, Cuba turned to the Soviet Union for support.

Many attempts have been made by the United States to overthrow Cuba's government. One of the most notorious is the previously mentioned Bay of Pigs Invasion of 1961, which ended in failure. After the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, the United States promised to never invade the island. Desperate but unsuccessful rebellions, known as the War against the Bandits, continued until about 1965.

ENLIGHTENED MODERATION

OUTLINE

- ❑ What is Enlightened moderation?
- ❑ View of Musharraf
- ❑ Since the dawn of 1990
- ❑ Two-pronged strategy
- ❑ The Muslim World
  - Self-Introspection
  - Revitalization of the OIC
  - Socioeconomic revival
  - Clarification of misperceptions about Islam
  - The reconstruction of religious thought
  - Elimination of the knowledge deficit
  - Establishment of tolerant societies
  - Registration of religious schools
  - Cleansing the society from foreign militant elements
  - Increasing the education level in the society
  - Poverty alleviation
  - Resolution of regional disputes
  - Mass literacy drive
- ❑ Second Prong: The West
  - Dispute resolution
  - Diplomacy instead of confrontation
  - Public diplomacy
  - Dialogue of civilizations
  - Diminishing the underlying causes
- ❑ Criticism of the strategy
- ❑ Conclusion

ESSAY

Enlightened moderation is a term coined by former President of Pakistan Pervez Musharraf, which applies to practicing Islam moderately, as opposed to practicing fundamentalist version of Islam. To think properly as to rationalize thoughts, be on the positive side of life, to prefer optimism, and the theory is against extremism. The strategy of enlightened moderation was unveiled by Musharraf during the OIC Summit Conference at Malaysia in 2002. In an elementary sense one is enlightened if he/she is well informed and aware of the implications and ramifications attaching to any given issue or proposition.

The attitude of mind should be open-minded, willing to accept the possibility that other belief systems may contain some merit, and that therefore they deserve respect. They have the right to exist, even flourish, alongside our own faith. This is moderation, and the disposition towards others that it generates is tolerance. Moderation and tolerance are, thus, children of enlightenment. Musharraf explained his position in an opinion piece published in various newspapers in 2004. His plan for enlightened moderation has two sides. It calls "for the Muslim world to shun militancy and extremism and adopt the path of socioeconomic uplift" and "for the West, and the United States in particular, to seek to resolve all political disputes with justice and to aid in the socioeconomic betterment of the deprived Muslim world". Musharraf pointed out that moderation and enlightenment have been the traits of the Islamic world since the times of the Islamic prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H).

The world has been going through a tumultuous period since the dawn of the 1990s, with no sign of relief in sight. The suffering of the innocents, particularly the Muslims -- at the hands of militants, extremists and terrorists has made it all the more urgent to bring order to this troubled scene. The world has become an extremely dangerous place. The devastating power of plastic explosives, combined with high-tech remote-controlled devices, as well as a proliferation of suicide bombers, has created a lethal force that is all but impossible to counter. The unfortunate reality is that both the perpetrators of these crimes and most of the people who suffer from them are Muslims. This has caused many non-Muslims to believe wrongly that Islam is a religion of intolerance, militancy and terrorism. It has led increasing numbers of people to link Islam to fundamentalism; fundamentalism to extremism, and extremism to terrorism. Muslims can protest however vigorously they like against this kind of labeling, but the reality is that such arguments are not likely to prevail in the battle for minds. To make things even more difficult, Muslims are probably the poorest, most uneducated, most powerless and most disunited people in the world.

The stark challenge that faces anyone with compassion for the common heritage of mankind is determining what legacy we will leave for future generations. The special challenge that confronts Muslims is to drag ourselves out of the pit we find ourselves in, to raise ourselves up by individual achievement and collective socioeconomic emancipation. Something has to be done quickly to stop the carnage in the world and to stem the downward slide of Muslims. The idea for untangling this knot is Enlightened Moderation, which is a win for all -- for both the Muslim and non-Muslim worlds.

It is a two-pronged strategy

It is related to the Muslim world. Tolerance, the rule of law, political and economic openness, the extension of greater opportunities to women--these cures must come from within Muslim societies

themselves. The Muslim World has a great responsibility towards the whole affair of radicalism, violence and terrorism, by transforming their societies as per the true teachings and guidance of Islam. Muslim leaders have a great role to play in all this and need to do their utmost to transform their societies. The prong required to be delivered by the Muslim world demands shunning militancy; extremism and adopting the path of socioeconomic uplift and emphasizes closer coordination among Muslim nations to combat terrorism and extremism. It requires the Muslims to pull themselves out of their present poverty, ignorance, and incompetence, and embrace enlightenment, tolerance, and moderation. The Muslim world as well as West needs to understand that even if this project is initiated with the utmost seriousness, and using all available resources, it would still take many years to be accomplished.

As for Muslims, what we need is introspection. Who are we, what do we as Muslims stand for, where are we going, where should we be headed and how can we reach there? The answers to these questions are the Muslim part of Enlightened Moderation.

We have a glorious past. Islam exploded on the world scene as the flag bearer of a just, lawful, tolerant and value-oriented society. We had faith in human exaltation through knowledge and enlightenment. We exemplified tolerance within ourselves and toward people of other faiths. The armies of Islam did not march forward to convert people by the sword, despite what the perceptions may be, but to deliver them from the darkness through the visible example of their virtues. What better projection can be found of these deeper values of Islam than the personal example of our Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H.), who personified justice, compassion, tolerance of others, generosity of spirit, austerity with a spirit of sacrifice, and a burning desire to make a better world. Today's Muslim world is distant from all these values. We have been left far behind in social, moral and economic development. We have remained in our own shell and refused to learn or acquire from others. We have reached the depths of despair and despondency. We need to face stark reality. Is the way ahead one of confrontation and militancy? Could this path really lead us back to our past glory while also showing the light of progress and development to the world?

We have been left far behind in social, moral and economic development. Unfortunately, during our decline we remained in our own shell and refused to learn or acquire from others. We thus reached the present depths of despair and despondency. We need to face stark realities. Is the way ahead one of confrontation and militancy? Will this path lead us to our past glory and also show the light of progress and development to the world?

The answer to the questions put forward is not confrontation, violence and radicalism, but rather to head towards enlightenment and concentrate especially on "human resource development" through poverty alleviation, better education, health, and social justice. The path of moderation and a conciliatory approach will have to be adopted to wash off the common beliefs that Islam is a religion of militancy and that it is also in conflict with modernization, democracy and secularism. This will be a very important, perhaps critical step towards the implementation of this strategy. Muslims need to draw lessons from their past, their golden history and the teachings of Islam, i.e. the Qur'an and Sunnah (the proven practices of the Holy Prophet (PBUH)). In light of this, the Muslim Ummah should critically analyze the acts of some of the people who are misrepresenting the Muslim world, with a view to see whether these are in line with the teachings of Islam or otherwise.

The OIC is the only collective body of the Muslim world in place. There is a clear need to infuse life into this body which, at present, is in a state of near impotence.43 It has to be restructured to meet the challenges of the 21st century, fulfill the aspirations of the Muslim world, and lead Muslims towards fulfilling their legitimate right and obligations within free and equitable societies. The sole voice of the Ummah, the OIC, has neither been able to register the truth on the international stage nor manifested any signs of rising to the new tasks facing Muslims. It appears as if it has been paralyzed by the sheer enormity of the daunting problems emanating from the radical transformation of the globe's strategic political and economic scene. Despite its large membership, the organization has become almost irrelevant to the new dynamics of global politics.

The Organization of Islamic Conferences (OIC) is our collective body. We need to infuse new life into it; it is now in a state of near impotence. The OIC must be restructured to meet the challenges of the 21st century, to fulfill the aspirations of the Muslim world and to take us toward emancipation. Forming a committee of luminaries to recommend a restructuring of the OIC is a big step in the right direction. We have to show resolve and rise above self-interest for our common good -- in the very spirit that Islam teaches us.

Thc Muslim states possess great potential and resources but the state of affairs of socioeconomic conditions is of a great concern. Individually some countries may be rich, educated and developed, but the collective situation is different. The human development indicators of the OIC members are among the lowest in the world, although possessing seventy per cent of the world's energy resources and with a 40% share in the global supply of raw materials. As for the OIC's share in global trade, it is a pitiful 6%, while its collective GDP amounts to a meager 5% of the world's GDP. 22 of the world's 49 least developed countries belong to the Islamic world. International institutions have classified 23 Muslim countries as severely indebted. Historically something has to be done, and done quickly, to stop the downward slide if we want to prevent ourselves from being sidelined in the future. This generally poor state of political, economic and social conditions helps breed militancy that is both a great threat to Muslim societies and world peace. Radical groups gain support by focusing on the poor and dispossessed, especially when governments fail to perform the same function. Muslim countries, individually and collectively, must make efforts to coordinate and focus their resources to establish economically more robust societies.

Muslim religious leaders and think tanks must endeavor to correct the misperceptions about the religion in the West. For example people must be able to differentiate between Islam and Arab nationalism. This may require deliberate information operations Muslim countries and Muslim interest groups to correct the misplaced misperceptions about the highly peaceful teachings of Islam.

This is probably the most important measure of the strategy to be taken by the Muslims. The importance of reconstruction of religious thought cannot be undermined as it was directed by the Holy Prophet (PBUH) himself. This was an essential component of the early centuries Islamic progress but in later centuries it ceased. The values of any divine religion cannot be changed or modified as they are divine injunctions and based on divine revelations; however, practices can be transformed or reinterpreted or even reconstructed. The process adopted for this purpose, which exists in the teachings of Islam, is called ijtihad (interpretation and reasoning based on the sacred texts). Many Muslims believe that they must choose between Islam and modernity or between Islam and democracy, but these are false choices. To reinterpret Islam for the twenty-first century, the practice of ijtihad must be revived. The issues facing Muslims today that require ijtihad include reviewing the

role of women in Islam; narrowing the gap between various schools of thought (schools of jurisprudence); reinterpreting relationships between various faiths and religions in the context of globalization; rethinking Islamic economic theories in relation to the modern economic system; achieving more unity and collaboration among Muslim states in religious, political and economic fields; examining ethical moral standards with regards to the promotion of individual freedom, especially that of religious minorities; and explaining proper behavior of Muslims in non-Muslim countries.

The Muslim world is in the middle of problems and complications due to various reasons and deficit of knowledge is probably one of the major reasons at the base of almost all these problems. A number of factors block the dissemination of knowledge. Among these factors are authoritarian and over-protective child rearing, the deteriorating quality of education in many countries in the region, curricula in schools that encourage submission, obedience, subordination and compliance rather than free critical thinking, the lack of autonomy at universities, and the poor state of university libraries. Some of the measures that Muslim governments could take that would prove useful are: unleashing and guaranteeing the key freedoms of opinion, speech, and assembly through good governance; disseminating high quality education based on educational outcomes and life-long learning, promoting research and development in societal activities, and keeping up with the information age, shifting rapidly towards knowledge based production, and establishing an authentic, broad minded and enlightened general knowledge model.

Muslim countries must attempt to establish such societies that are educated and knowledgeable, prosperous and tolerant. This is possible only if the education imparted to all the members of society is based on true teachings of Islam. Educated societies are less prone to manipulation by extremists who profit greatly from ignorance.

This is one of the major steps that have been taken up by the current government to achieve the desired objectives of Enlightened Moderation. Registration includes definition of the curriculum and teaching approaches, and even setting up some model madrasas which would teach a syllabus proposed by government which, importantly, includes teaching computers and other sciences in addition to religious studies.

Free education opportunities offered by well-established religious schools, and the Afghan jihad of the 1980s, attracted many foreign nationals to Pakistan. The socio-political environment of that time provided them opportunities to establish themselves in areas bordering Afghanistan. These elements have been involved in undesirable activities and at times have engaged in violent activities within Pakistan society. Through focused military and police operations, and increased registration of foreign nationals in areas bordering Afghanistan, the government is making concerted efforts are being made to make the society free from such radical elements.

Today, in Pakistan, access to good education remains a privilege, not a right. The state has abdicated all effective responsibility for providing education. As a result every class gets the education it can afford, if it can afford it. Education at every level of Pakistan's society will have to play a vital role in the uplift of intellectual awareness of the need for change.

This program launched by the government is set to play rich dividends in its efforts to eradicate poverty from the society. Poverty and deprivation are major influences as motivators for radical behavior. Peoples' living standards will have to be raised by providing them good job opportunities and employment so that these people do not fall prey to the attractive recruiting offers of the terrorists.

Pakistan and India have harbored hatred between the populace of both countries, despite their having co-existed for almost twelve centuries (711-1857 CE). This hatred has its base in the brutalities committed at the time of independence; however, subsequent events over last half a century of both nations' independent histories have also contributed to nurture intolerance. No country interested in boosting its economy can afford conflicts and differences with its neighbors and major trading partners. It is time for Pakistan to make a realistic assessment of the global situation and improve relations with its neighbors showing flexibility, even if acceptable compromises are to be made.

Pakistan's education system needs to be objective. The emphasis must shift from ritual teachings to understanding the spirit of Islam by reading its basic texts. In this regard, Arabic should be pursued as a compulsory subject from eighth class onwards until twelfth grade to achieve a better understanding of Holy Qur'an and other religious explanations. Muslim students should also be taught religion and Islamic principles in greater detail by using the Holy Qur'an and Hadith.

The second strategy is concerned with the West. The West and the United States in particular have a great responsibility with regards to making the world a more peaceful place. The poverty, repression, lack of freedom, and economic difficulties in the Muslim world have been identified by many as main causes of creating conditions that promote terrorism, violence and radicalism. The allegedly biased role played by the West and the U.S. in settlement of unresolved disputes involving Muslims is also regarded as another major cause of violence. The "Strategy of Enlightened Moderation" assigns an independent prong to the West to undertake these tasks. The other prong, to be delivered by the West and the US in particular, must aim at resolutely resolving all political disputes with justice and also assisting in the socioeconomic uplift of the deprived Muslim world. The world must realize that confrontation and use of force is not going to bring ultimate peace. The root cause of extremism and militancy lies in political injustice, denial and deprivation. Political injustice within a nation or a people, when combined with stark poverty and illiteracy, makes an explosive mix leading towards an acute sense of deprivation, hopelessness and powerlessness. A people suffering from a combination of all these lethal ills is easily available cannon fodder for the propagation of militancy and the perpetration of extremist and terrorist acts. The West must make all possible efforts to eliminate the chances of emergences of radicalism by supporting prosperity and opposing repression.

The West must make all efforts to resolve with justice the political disputes involving the Muslim world, like Kashmir and Palestine, as its part of the commitment to the "Strategy of Enlightened Moderation." These fair efforts on the part of United States and the West, possibly requiring a change of policy toward disputing partners, can help weaken the linkage between nationalism and radical terrorism.

The West and especially the global leader the United States must adopt an approach of open dialogue, focusing first on diplomacy rather than armed confrontation and fighting. This will be an important measure to win the hearts, minds and souls of the Muslim World and develop a good dialogue between faiths and civilizations.

"Public diplomacy refers to government-sponsored programs intended to inform or influence public opinion in other countries; its chief instruments are publications, motion pictures, cultural exchanges, radio and television." There is no doubt that people are the strongest element of national power. There is a great deal which goes on in this realm, however, and still a lot needs to be done.

Though the efforts have increased in the post 9/11 period, undesired armed preemptions / interventions by the West have proved counter-productive and led to a decrease in support by the general public in Muslim countries.

Quite against the rhetoric of the clash of cultures and civilizations, Dialogue between Civilizations aims at finding out the similarities between the faith and cultures to promote peace and harmony in the world. The dialogue should be pursued aggressively by both sides to disprove the conspiracy theories promoted by the term Clash of Civilizations. This dialogue will help build trust and confidence between various faiths and cultures, and can help make the world a relatively safer place. There is a fair awareness in world with regards to the need, importance and suitability of timing of this dialogue, and the U.S. must regulate this dialogue as the global leader. In this context a productive dialogue between the West and Islam is not inconceivable.

Even at the cost of repetition, it may be important to emphasize that if the underlying causes of violence, radicalism and militancy are ascertained correctly, more than half of the problem is already solved. And if the underlying causes are addressed and diminished effectively, the threat can be eliminated. This will require an aggressive long term campaign to identify and mitigate the contributors to the underlying causes of militancy. In broadest terms, these measures will include economic stabilization through addressing financial disparities and poverty alleviation, assisting the governments to establish their writs through effective law enforcement, facilitating good governance and ensuring elimination of ignorance through mass literacy. The United States and its allies should strategically allocate resources to develop those countries where terrorism has already taken root and those where terrorism is likely to take root.

If all this is done with sincerity and an atmosphere of trust established between all cultures and faiths, the West would have played its part and history would unfold differently. In defense of the Muslims, let us trace the genesis of the Muslims being labeled as extremists or terrorists. Before the anti-Soviet Afghan war, the sole cause of unrest and concern in the Muslim world was the Palestine dispute. It was this issue that led to a unity of Muslims -- in favor of Palestinians and against Israel. The Afghan war of the 1980s, supported and facilitated by the West as a proxy war against the Soviet Union, saw the emergence and nurturing of pan-Islamic militancy. Islam as a religion was used to harness worldwide Muslim support. Subsequently the atrocities and ethnic cleansing against Muslims in Bosnia, the Chechen uprising, the Kashmir freedom struggle and the invigorated Palestinian intifada all erupted in the '90s after the Soviet disintegration. To make matters worse, the militancy that was sparked in Afghanistan -- which should have been defused after the Cold War -- was instead allowed to fester for a decade.

During this time, hostility among fighters from the Muslim world turned multidirectional, seeking new conflict zones in places where Muslims were suffering. Enter the birth of al- Qaeda. Meanwhile, the Palestinian intifada kept gathering momentum, uniting and angering Muslims across the globe. And then came the bombshell of Sept. 11, 2001, and the angry reaction of the United States against the Taliban and al- Qaeda in Afghanistan. All subsequent reactions of the United States -- its domestic responses against Muslims, its attitude toward Palestine and the operation in Iraq -- led to total polarization of the Muslim masses against the United States. It is not Islam as a religion that has created militancy and extremism but rather political disputes that have led to antagonism among the Muslim masses.

This is all history now. What has been done cannot be undone. But this situation cannot be allowed to fester; a remedy must be found. It is up to the West to help resolve these political disputes with justice, as part of a commitment to a strategy of Enlightened Moderation. The time for renaissance has come. The way forward is through enlightenment. We must concentrate on human resource development through the alleviation of poverty and through education, health care and social justice. If this is our direetion, it cannot be achieved through confrontation. We must adopt a path of moderation and a conciliatory approach to fight the common belief that Islam is a religion of militancy in confliet with modernization, democracy and secularism. All this must be done with a realization that, in the world we live in, fairness does not always rule.

The world at large and the powers that be must realize that confrontation and force will never bring peace. Justice must be done and be seen to be done. Let it not be said by future generations that we, the leaders of today, took humanity toward the apocalypse. The call for moderation has however been misinterpreted by some circles as adoption of Western culture.

Criticism of the strategy can be classified in two broad categories

1. The first group of critieisms hold that the strategy is not more that dictating or guiding the Islamic world on the route described by Washington, and that the realistic picture of Muslims painted by Pervez Musharraf is a reflection of an apologetic mindset. These critics, in analyzing the potential and effectiveness of the strategy, think that it may not be able to appeal to the Muslim world as a result, Muslim governments, even if they are convinced on introducing enlightened moderation in their respective societies, may not be able to enforce the strategy. It has also been eommented that what has to be implemented by the West, and especially by the U.S.--the peaceful and just resolution of disputes involving Muslims, and socioeconomic uplift of Muslim countries--may not attract the West's sincere efforts.

Some realists, however, remark that though "terrorism is caused by injustice involved in unresolved political disputes; Muslims must realize that the world in which we live is not always fair. In other words, some amount of injustice will always remain and we must learn to live with it."

Others think it to be the solution to their problems and an effective alternative to, or reinforcement for, the measures already being implemented by the world.

2. There are also some critics who think that by becoming moderate and enlightened means becoming non-religious or adopting non-religious life style and approach.Irrespective of the criticism, the strategy is in line with the world environment of combating terrorism. Almost all Muslim and Western leaders have equally ratified it to be a useful tool in addressing the problem of radicalism, violence and reducing the gap between the Muslim societies and the West. As with all the strategies, its effectiveness greatly depends on its operationalization and implementation.

Enlightened moderation has to be pursued within the confines of Huququl Ibad (Rights of human beings) and the Huququl Allah (Rights of the Creator). In essence that is the definition of Islam. We can and should be tolerant and progressive within Islamic teachings. Islam is a religion of peace and abhors all forms of violence. Against the backdrop of Nine Eleven episode, the Western world has come to equate Islam with violence. This grossly unfair and false perception has to be removed through a policy of moderation which is the spirit of our faith.

The Muslim world and the West, and the United States in particular, all have their responsibilities to make this world a more peaceful place by uprooting the menace of terrorism permanently. Pakistan has the potential to become a leader of the Ummah. It is the only Muslim power to have acquired nuclear capability. However, internal peace shall remain elusive as long as the menace of extremism is not banished. This is possible through modern education to be spread within the concept of enlightened moderation. Islam stands for justice, peace, love, progress and respect of all and calls for ensuring rights of minorities. It is a progressive religion and its true face has to be shown to the world while remaining steadfast to the basic teachings of Islam. It is absolutely necessary that the whole Pakistani nation rises unitedly, and strengthen the hands of the government in its fight against terrorism. Pakistani nation should support the efforts extended by government to curb the twin menace of terrorism and extremism.

ORGANISATIONS AT GLANCE

1. SAARC

FORMATION

The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) is an economic and political organization of eight countries in Southern Asia. In terms of population, its sphere of influence is the largest of any regional organization: almost 1.5 billion people, the combined population of its member state. It was established on December 8, 1985 by Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, India and Sri Lanka. In April 2007, at the Association's 14th summit, Afghanistan became its eighth member.

HISTORY

In the late 1970s, Bangladeshi President Ziaur Rahman proposed the creation of a trade bloc consisting of South Asian countries. The idea of regional cooperation in South Asia was again mooted in May 1980. The foreign secretaries of the seven countries met for the first time in Colombo in April 1981. The Committee of the Whole, which met in Colombo in August 1981, identified five broad areas for regional cooperation. New areas of cooperation were added in the following years.

OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the Association as defined in the Charter are:

- To promote the welfare of the people of South Asia and to improve their quality of life;
- To accelerate economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region and to provide all individuals the opportunity to live in dignity and to realize their full potential;
- To promote and strengthen collective self-reliance among the countries of South Asia;
- To contribute to mutual trust, understanding and appreciation of one another's problems;
- To promote active collaboration and mutual assistance in the economic, social, cultural, technical and scientific fields;
- To strengthen cooperation with other developing countries;
- To strengthen cooperation among themselves in international forums on matters of common interest; and
- To cooperate with international and regional organizations with similar aims and purposes.

MEMBERSHIP

1. Afghanistan
2. Bangladesh
3. Bhutan
4. India
5. Maldives

6. Nepal
7. Pakistan
8. Sri Lanka

OBSERVERS

1. Australia
2. China
3. Europe Union
4. Iran
5. Japan
6. Mauritius
7. Myanmar (Burma)
8. South Korea
9. United States

SECRETARIAT

The SAARC Secretariat was established in Kathmandu on 16 January 1987 and was inaugurated by Late King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah of Nepal.

It is headed by a Secretary General appointed by the Council of Ministers from Member Countries in alphabetical order for a three-year term. He is assisted by the Professional and the General Services Staff, and also an appropriate number of functional units called Divisions assigned to Directors on deputation from Member States.

CRITICISM

Not enough is being done to for rapid economic integration of the region. Apart from the fact that the recently approved University and the creation of new rail lines linking the region. people to people contacts and connectivity of region needs to be strengthened.

POLITICAL ISSUES

SAARC has intentionally laid more stress on "core issues" mentioned above rather than more decisive political issues like the Kashmir dispute and the Sri Lankan civil war. However, political dialogue is often conducted on the margins of SAARC meetings. SAARC has also refrained itself from interfering in the internal matter states. During the 12th and 13th SAARC summits, extreme emphasis was laid upon greater cooperation between the SAARC members to fight terrorism.

POLITICAL ECONOMY OF SOUTH ASIA

South Asia accounts for nearly 23 per cent of the total world population. However, its share in the global GDP is less than 3 per cent. The region is home to the world's 400 million poor, which means nearly 30 per cent of the region's population lives below the poverty line. All Saarc countries have a rather low ranking on the human development index (HDI), which according to the Human Development Report 2007-08 is: Sri Lanka (99), the Maldives (100), India (128), Bhutan (133), Pakistan (136), Bangladesh (140), and Nepal (142). The HDI ranking is based on achievements in terms of life expectancy, education and real income. The low HDI ranking reflects poorly on these vital indicators in the region.

In order to achieve the objectives of Saarc and increase regional integration, the member countries created South Asian Free Trade Agreement (Safta) in 2004 at the twelfth Saarc summit. The agreement, which came into force on January 1, 2006, provides that members will reduce their tariffs to 0-5 per cent by December 31, 2015. The success of Safta, however, largely depends on normalisation of Pakistan-India relations. In case the relations between the two countries do not normalise, Safta's fate will not be different from that of its predecessor, South Asian Preferential Trade Agreement (Sapta).

The major reason for meager intra-Saarc trade is low volume of trade between Pakistan and India, the largest economies and trading nations in the region. Though formal Pak-India trade (the two countries have informal trade of more than $3 billion a year) has increased from $236 million in 2001-2002 to $1.95 billion in 2007-08, it still constitutes less than 1 per cent of the global trade of the two countries! Pakistan has not even graned MFN status, a basic requirement under the WTO, to India and continues to conduct its imports from India on the basis of a positive list. On its part, India maintains high tariffs and non-tariff barriers on products of export interest to Pakistan.

The poor trade performance of Saarc stands in marked contrast with that of the neighbouring regional alliance-Association of South East Asian Nations (Asean). The Asean countries for merely 8.4 per cent of the total world population. However, their share in total world trade is nearly 7 per cent. Asean's contribution to Asia's total trade is 23 per cent. Asean countries have remained embroiled in territorial disputes but that has not hampered their trade relations.

SAARC: CAUSES OF FAILURE

The two-day 16th summit of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (Saarc) held in Bhutanese capital of Thimpu on April 28-29 concluded with a joint declaration expressing the resolve of their leaders to wage common struggle for economic development, improve their inter-connectivity, promote people to people contacts and evolve a joint strategy to tackle the issues of climate change, water and food shortages.

The importance of Saarc as a regional organisation despite its rather unsatisfactory record, is recognised by all leaders. The feeling that peace and prosperity are indivisible and that the South Asia region has a common destiny and a shared struggle for a better and brighter future has emerged dominant theme.

The South Asia Preferential Trading Agreement (SAPTA) was signed in the 7th summit at Dhaka in April 93, but it has not yet been operationalised. The proposal to establish South Asian Food Reserve and South Asian Development Fund have also met the same fate. Similarly declarations on enhancing political cooperation and promotion of mutual trust and understanding reiterated in each summit have registered limited success. Saarc despite these limitations and poor performance, however, remains a useful tool for smaller countries to promote understanding and cooperation at bilateral level.

Facing criticism that Saarc has failed to realise its ambitious objectives during the last 25 years, the Thimpu Summit decided not to indulge in rhetoric and set ambitious goals. The two major and modest projects agreed upon were US$300 million fund to reduce poverty in the region and also on trade and environmental protection.

At the Thimpu Summit, the leaders pledged that they will unitedly work to realise the aspirations of the founding fathers t as set out in the first Summit.

The establishment of Saarc Development Fund, Food Bank, The Arbitration Council, and the Regional Standards Organisations are the right moves. Saarc should also seek free and preferential trading arrangements with other regional bodies notably EU and the Asean.

2. ASEAN (ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS)

Member countries

The member countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) are Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Brunei Darussalam, Vietnam, Laos and Myanmar. The countries of Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) have a combined population of 890 million and now constitute one of the fastest growing regions in the world.

History

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was established on August 8, 1967 in Bangkok, Thailand, with the signing of the Bangkok Declaration by the five original Member Countries namely Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. Brunei Darussalam joined the Association on January 8, 1984. Vietnam became the seventh member of ASEAN on July 28, 1995. Laos and Myanmar were admitted into ASEAN on 23 July 1997.

The Bangkok Declaration united the ASEAN Member Countries in a joint effort to promote economic cooperation and the welfare of the people in the region. The Bangkok Declaration set out guidelines for ASEAN's activities and defined the aims of the organization. The ASEAN nations came together with three main objectives in mind: to promote the economic, social and cultural development of the region through cooperative programmes; to safeguard the political and economic stability of the region against big power rivalry; and to serve as a forum for the resolution of intra-regional differences.

The First Summit Meeting was held in Bali, Indonesia in February 1976. At this meeting, a small permanent secretariat was also established in Jakarta to provide administrative support and to help in coordination of ASEAN activities.

Organizational structure

The highest authority of ASEAN is the Meeting of the ASEAN Heads of Government, the ASEAN Summit.

The ASEAN Foreign Ministers meet annually during the AMM. The AMM, established by the 1967 Bangkok Declaration, is responsible for the formulation of policy guidelines and coordination of ASEAN activities. ASEAN Economic Ministers (AEM) meets formally or informally to direct ASEAN economic cooperation. The AEM was institutionalised at the 1977 Kuala Lumpur Summit. Like the AMM, the AEM also meets annually. The AFTA Council was established by the Fourth Summit to supervise, coordinate, and review the implementation of the CEPT Scheme for AFTA. The AEM and AMM report jointly to the ASEAN Heads of Government during an ASEAN Summit.

OTHER NON-ECONOMIC ASEAN MINISTERIAL MEETINGS

Meetings of Ministers in other fields of ASEAN cooperation, such as Health, Environment, Labour, Social Welfare, Education, Science and Technology, Information and Justice/Law, are held regularly. While there is coordination between meetings of other Ministers and the AMM, each meeting of Ministers may be reported directly to the Heads of Government.

Secretary-General of ASEAN

The Secretary-General is appointed on merit by the ASEAN Heads of Government with the recommendation of the AMM. He is accorded ministerial status with the mandate to initiate, advise, coordinate and implement ASEAN activities. He also chairs all meetings of the ASC on behalf of the ASC Chairman, except the first and the last.

ASEAN Committees in Third Countries

ASEAN has established committees in its Dialogue Partner countries to handle ASEAN's external relations with these countries and international organisations. These committees comprise the heads of diplomatic missions of the ASEAN Member Countries in the host country. They conduct consultative meetings with their host governments. Presently, there are fourteen ASEAN Committees in third countries, namely: Beijing, Bonn, Brussels, Canberra, Geneva, London, Moscow, Ottawa, Paris, Seoul, Tokyo, Washington, Wellington and New Delhi. The Chairmen of the ASEAN Committees in Third Countries submit progress reports to the ASC on the activities of the Committees and seek guidance as needed from the ASC.

Economic cooperation

ASEAN economic cooperation has not only deepened but also widened in the last five years. This is evidence of the ASEAN Member Countries' strong commitment to making the region a strong and dynamic economic force.

Economic cooperation in ASEAN does not entail only trade liberalisation measures but also trade facilitation, non-border measures and investment promotion activities. New areas of cooperation, such as in services and intellectual property rights are being implemented. Bold decisions have also been made to elevate and strengthen ASEAN industrial cooperation through a new scheme which will take into account present industrial needs and economic situation in ASEAN. Cooperation in private sector development, small- and medium-size enterprises, infrastructural development and regional investment promotion measures have also made considerable progress.

The thrusts of ASEAN economic cooperation in the 1990s include the following :

- to fully implement the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA);
- to develop the region into a global base for the manufacture of value added and technologically sophisticated products geared towards servicing the region and world markets;
- to enhance the industrial efficiency of the region through exploiting complementary location advantages based on the principles of market sharing and resource pooling;
- to enhance the attractiveness of the region for investment and as a tourist destination;
- to cooperate in enhancing greater infrastructural development which will contribute towards more efficient business environment; and
- to ensure that the rich resources (minerals, energy, forestry and others) of the region are exploited effectively and efficiently.

Guiding Principles

The success of ASEAN Economic Cooperation, seen as a possible model for regional cooperation among developing countries, is very much the result of the wisdom, foresight and bold decisions of the Bangkok Declaration of 1967 and the past four Summits' guidance. ASEAN Economic Cooperation was first stressed in the Bangkok Declaration of 1967 which laid the

foundation for economic cooperation. The Declaration emphasized among other things, the following aims and purposes :

- to accelerate economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region;
- to promote active collaboration and mutual assistance of matters of common interest in the economic, social, cultural, technical, scientific and administrative fields;
- to collaborate more effectively for the greater utilization of the region's agriculture and industries, the expansion of trade, including the study of the problems of international commodity trade, the improvement of its transportation and communications facilities and the raising of the living standards of its peoples.

ASEAN Economic Cooperation was subsequently guided further by the decisions of subsequent ASEAN Summits. The First ASEAN Summit, called for intensifying cooperation in economic and social development and taking cooperative action in national and regional development programmes, utilizing as far as possible the resources available in the ASEAN region to broaden the complementarily of respective economies.

The First Informal Summit held in Jakarta on 30 November 1996 requested the Ministers to develop an ASEAN Vision towards the year 2020, taking into account that by then AFTA would have been fully implemented for almost two decades. The Leaders also endorsed the Basic Framework of the ASEAN-Mekong Basin Development Cooperation and hoped that such cooperation would promote the economic integration and interconnection between the economies of ASEAN and the non-ASEAN Mekong Riparian States. In addition, the Heads of Government agreed to request the economic ministers to develop the possibility of ASEAN cooperation on the facilitation of goods in transit.

ASEAN Free Trade Area

The most significant step in enhancing trade in ASEAN was the decision of the Fourth ASEAN Summit in 1992 to establish the ASEAN Free Trade Area by the year 2008. In September 1994, the ASEAN Member Countries agreed to accelerate the establishment of AFTA by reducing the initial time frame of 15 years to 10 years.

The primary objective of AFTA was to enhance ASEAN's position as a competitive production base geared towards servicing the global market. This was to be achieved through the expansion of intra-ASEAN trade, making possible both greater specialization and economies of scale. It was also to be achieved through the inflow of more foreign direct investment who would be attracted by the emergence of a single ASEAN market.

The Common Effective Preferential Tariff (CEPT) Scheme, which is the main mechanism for realizing AFTA, was launched on 1 January 1993. The CEPT Scheme covers both manufactured and agricultural products. The product coverage in the CEPT Scheme is the most comprehensive ever in any ASEAN trading arrangement. For instance, more than 90% of the total tariff lines in ASEAN are already included in the CEPT Scheme. These tariff lines account for more than 81% of intra-ASEAN trade values.

In keeping with the principle of open regionalism, ASEAN has been pursuing regional linkages with other regional trading arrangements. The AFTA-CER linkage was the first of these linkages and the activities include creation of a customs compendium, information exchange on standards and conformance including collaborative work on ISO 14000 and linkage of trade and investment databases. Similar initiatives are being pursued with other regional groupings such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the Mercado Comun del Sur (MERCOSUR), the

European Free Trade Association (EFTA) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

Cooperation in Industrial Development

1. Industrial Cooperation has been an important cornerstone of ASEAN economic cooperation. Various industrial cooperation initiatives have been pursued with the aim of enhancing the industrial competitiveness of the region. Industrial cooperation schemes based on the principles of resource pooling and market sharing have been introduced to facilitate effective exploitation of economies of scale and the region's complementary location advantages.

Cooperation in Finance and Banking

ASEAN finance cooperation has been further strengthened with the various decisions made at the First ASEAN Finance Ministers Meeting (AFMM) held on 1 March 1997 in Phuket, Thailand. The decision to strengthen cooperation in the field of finance will provide strong support to the various regional initiatives and schemes expounded by the ASEAN Leaders. This includes, among others, the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA), ASEAN Industrial Cooperation Scheme (AICO) and ASEAN Investment Area (AIA).

Two important documents were signed by the ASEAN Finance Ministers in Phuket. These were the Ministerial Understanding (MU) on Finance Cooperation and the ASEAN Agreement on Customs. The former lays down the foundation for strengthening cooperation in finance. In particular, the MU provides a framework for enhancing cooperation in several areas of finance which include banking; financial and capital markets development; customs matters; insurance matters; taxation and public finance matters; monetary policy cooperation; and human resource development in the area of finance.

The signing of the Customs Agreement will enhance ASEAN cooperation in customs activities and will help expedite the early realization of AFTA as it contains provisions that would facilitate greater intra-regional trade and investment flow. The Agreement also stipulates joint efforts in anti-smuggling and customs control activities, mutual technical assistance, customs modernization, and upgrade customs skills to meet present and future challenges.

In view of increasing level of finance activities and cooperation, the ASEAN Finance Ministers (AFM) have established the ASEAN Senior Finance Officials Meeting (ASFOM) to assist the AFM in their work. The ASFOM and its working group will meet regularly to develop, manage and implement regional finance cooperation activities. Other finance-related bodies such as the insurance regulators, capital markets, tax and central bank authorities have been encouraged to establish appropriate forum for initiating activities and strengthening cooperation endeavours in each of the finance sub-sectors.

Cooperation in Food, Agriculture and Forestry

Various measures have been implemented to promote the production and trade in agriculture and forestry products given that these sectors are still significant to many ASEAN economies. The Ministerial Understanding on ASEAN Cooperation in Food, Agriculture and Forestry had provided a framework for sectoral cooperation in these areas. Cooperation in Minerals

The Programme of Action for cooperation in minerals was approved by the Fifth ASEAN Summit to promote trade and investment in industrial minerals. Member Countries have pursued initiatives to exchange information on policy, regulations and legislation to attract investments. To further strengthen ASEAN of cooperation in the sector, Member Countries agreed to establish an

ASEAN Industrial Minerals Information System (AIMIS) and a Directory of Research and Development and Training Centres available in the region.

Cooperation in Energy

With ASEAN expected to become a net oil importing region by the turn of the century, ASEAN's collective action is in the furtherance of ensuring greater security and sustainability of energy supply through diversification, development and conservation of resources, the efficient use of energy and wide application of environmentally sound technologies. In line with the Agreement on ASEAN Energy Cooperation of 1986, the Medium-Term Programme of Action on Energy Cooperation (1995-1999) is being vigorously implemented in the following sectors; electricity, oil and gas, coal, new and renewable sources of energy, energy efficiency and conservation, energy and environment and energy policy and planning. An ASEAN emergency petroleum sharing scheme is likewise in place. Cooperative efforts will likewise focus on the realization of regional interconnecting arrangements for electricity and natural gas, through the ASEAN Power Grid and Trans-ASEAN Gas Pipeline Projects. The ASEAN-EC Energy Management Research and Training Centre (AEEMTRC) will be eventually transformed into the ASEAN Energy Centre.

Cooperation in Transportation and Communications

The transport and communications sector is a critical logistics and services support sector in the integration of the ASEAN economies. ASEAN Member Countries are implementing the ASEAN Plan of Action in Transport and Communications through the Integrated Implementation Programme, involving 45 projects and activities in the following cooperative areas; multimodal transport, interconnectivity in telecommunications, harmonization of road transport laws, rules and regulations, airspace management, maritime safety and pollution, human resources, and air services liberalization. Feasibility study for the Singapore-Kunming (China) Rail Link Project and the development of the ASEAN Framework Agreement on the Facilitation of Goods in Transit will also be undertaken. Future collaborative efforts to keep pace with the increasing demand for improved infrastructure and communications will be towards the development of an integrated and harmonized trans-ASEAN transportation network and the harnessing of technology advances in telecommunications and information technology. Special emphasis will be given to link the planned information highways/multimedia corridors in ASEAN, promote open sky policy, develop multimodal transport, facilitate goods in transit, develop regional shipping policy and integrate further telecommunications networks.

3. SCO (Shanghai Cooperation Organization)

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) is an intergovernmental mutual-security organization which was founded in 2001 in Shanghai by the leaders of China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. Except for Uzbekistan, the other countries had been member of the Shanghai Five, founded in 1996, after the inclusion of Uzbekistan in 2001, the members renamed the organization.

Aims and Purposes

1. The threat of the 21st century included unprecedented achievements in setting the long standing disputes along the 700-kilometers border between China and the Soviet Union and its successor states.
2. The successful implementation of confidence and security building measures in the border areas.

3. To recognize the need for a more coherent response to regional security and economic development challenges generally.
4. China and Russia also saw the SCO as a vehicle for pursuing a number of interests connected with the continuing challenges to their central authority in Xingjiang province and Chechnya, respectively.
5. To combat so-called terrorism, separatism and extremism (not that SCO was launched before 9/11 attacks) were important drivers for the creation of the SCO.
6. Strengthening mutual trust and good neighbor relations among member states.
7. Promoting effective cooperation in political affairs, economy, trade and the scientific, technical, cultural and educational sphere as well as energy transportation, tourism and environmental protection.
8. Jointly safeguarding and preserving regional peace, security and stability.
9. Striving towards the creation of a democratic just, reasonable now international political and economic order.

Secretariat

Beijing (China)

Secretary General

Bolat Nurgaliyev (Kazakhstan)

Deputy Secretary General

Valdimir Zakharov

Members

1. China	2. Kazakhstan	3. Kyrgyzstan
4. Russia	5. Tajikistan	6. Uzbekistan

Observers

1. India	2. Iran	3. Mongolia
4. Pakistan		

Guest Attendance

1. Afghanistan	2. ASEAN	3. CIS

Working Languages

1. Chinese	2. Russian

SCO STRUCTURE

1. Council of Heads of States

The Council of Heads of States is the top decision-making body in the SCO. The Council meets at the SCO summits, which are held each year in one of the member's capital.

2. Council of Heads of Government

The Council of Heads of Government is the second-highest council in the organization. This council also holds annual summits, at which time members discuss issues of multilateral cooperation. The Council also approves the organization budgets.

3. Council of Foreign Ministers

The Council of foreign also hold regular meetings, where they discuss the current international situation and the SCO's interaction with other international organisation.

4. Council of National Coordinators

As the name suggests, the Council of National Coordinators coordinates the multilateral cooperation of member states within the framework of the SCO's charter.

5. Secretariat

The Secretariat of the SCO is the primary executive body of the organization. It serves to implement organizational decisions and deerees drafts proposed document (such as declarations and agenda) function as a document depository for the organization, arranges specific activities within the SCO frame work, and promotes and disseminates information about SCO. It is located in Beijing. The current SCO Secretary-General is Bolat Nurgaliyev of Kazakhstan.

SCO – REGIONAL ANTI – TERRORIST STRUCTURE (RATS)

The Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure (RATS), headquarter in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, is a permanent organ of the SCO which serves to promote cooperation of member states against the three evils of terrorism, separatism and extremism. The Head of the RATS is elected to a three-your term. Each member state also sends a permanent representative to RATS.

Summits

According to the charter of the SCO, summits of the Council of Head of State shall be held annually at alternating venues. The locations of these summits follow the alphabetical order of the member states name in Russia. To date 10 summits have been held:

1st – 2001 — Shanghai (China)
2nd – 2002 — Saint Petersburg (Russia)
3rd – 2003 — Moscow (Russia)
4th – 2004 — Tashkent (Uzbekistan)
5th – 2005 — Astana (Kazakhstan)
6th – 2006 — Shanghai (China)
7th – 2007 — Bishkek (Kyrgyzstan)
8th – 2008 — Dushanbe (Tajikistan)
9th – 2009 — Yekaterinburg (Russia)
10th – 2010 — Tashkent (Uzbekistan)

ACTIVITIES

1. Co-operation on Security

The SCO is primarily centered on its member nations **'Central Asian'** security related concerns, often describing the main threats it confronts as being terrorism, separatism and extremism. However, evidence is growing that its activities in the area of social development of its member states is increasing fast.

At 16-17 June 2004 SCO summit, held in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, the regional Anti-terrorism structure was established. *There have been a number of SCO joint military exercises.* The SCO signed an agreement to broaden cooperation on issues such as security, crime and drug trafficking.

2. Economic Cooperation

All SCO members but China are also member of the Eurasian Economic Community. A Frame Work Agreement to enhance cooperation was signed.

3. Free Trade Area

A long-term objective was to establish free trade area in the SCO, to improve the flow of goods in the region.

4. Cultural Cooperation:

Cultural cooperation also occurs in the SCO frame work. Culture ministers of the SCO met for the first time in Beijing 2002 signing a joint statement for continued cooperation.

SCO AND NATO

The SCO challenges the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's claim to be the only viable security organization in the region especially in Central Asia. According to many military experts of the USA that the SCO is acting as a Russia-China condominium for countering its influence in the region.

But it is predicted that there is no chance of militaristic conflict between Nato and SCO in the near future. But struggle for regional political supremacy, geo-strategic dominance and thirst and competition for sources of energy and "gas pipeline" would be rise.

If Pakistan and Iran become full members of SCO the whole geography, politics and economics dimensions of the region will change. It is also reality that the SCO is not a mutual defense pact, unlike the North Atlantic Treaty Organization which is a military alliance that has since expanded its original defensive mandate way beyond the North Atlantic region to carry on offensive operations in the Balkans, Afghanistan and Iraq.

Since its establishment, SCO member states have held joint military exercises, most recently in 2007 near Russia's Ural Mountains. Still, the SCO serves more as a forum to discuss multilateral issues of trade and security than a full-developed counterpart of Nato, which has expanded its sphere of operation way beyond the North Atlantic region.

On October 27, 2007, the SCO signed an agreement with the Collective Security Treaty Organization, whose members are Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia and Tajikistan.

Main Possible Hurdles

(a) The SCO observers are widely different countries with different interests in the organizations. Iran is interested in becoming a full member, viewing it as a guarantee of its security.

(b) The new Mongolian leadership, which is said to be pro-western, but we cannot be sure of its position regarding the SCO after the election.

(c) Differences between India and Pakistan are especially large and could complicate the SCO expansion.

Strategic Expansion

Iran and Pakistan, observer nations in the SCO along with India and Mongolia, have asked for full membership. Russia officials have said, the group's enlargement is held back by lack of admission rules, but China has warned against excessive expansion, saying it could hinder cooperation.

The SCO decided to grant a partner nation status to Belarus and Sri Lanka. The President of Tajikistan endorsed the expansion of the SCO. He said that it would increase the organization's

authority. He further said, while supporting expansion of the SCO, we believe that along with cohesion and mutual support, this step will demonstrate increasing importance and influence of the SCO on the international stage.

Iran Strategic Proposals

(a) Justice and mutual respect should be regarded as the best means for communications and constructive and durable cooperation, all should spare no effort to materialize these two goals in their international relations.
(b) The SCO Secretariat must play a more active role in the fields of politics, economic, culture and security.
(c) Use of a single currency in transactions and trade exchange among SCO member states as well as establishment of SCO bank with participation of all members.
(d) Formation of two political and economic committees by the member states to precisely monitor global development in order to find a common political and economic strategy to improve international infrastructure in connection with regional and global developments.
(e) Iran's readiness to deepen and broaden cooperation with SCO.

Pakistan

(a) The President projected Pakistan as an energy-cum trade corridor that could connect Central Asia with the Arabian Sea.
(b) Pakistan offered Gwadar Port to all SCO members.
(c) Pakistan is a country which is most suitably positioned to contribute to realizing the SCO objectives and goals.

Suggestions

(a) All the member countries should resolve their bilateral or trilateral disputes to make SCO more effective and strong.
(b) Disputes of water reservoir, natural resource sharing, transportation and other problems need to be solved.
(c) Terrorism is a curse; therefore concrete efforts should be carried forwards. Anti-terrorism mechanism of the SCO ought to be proactive.
(d) Nuclear non-proliferation treaty must be implemented in true spirits.
(e) It is high time to extend Socio-economic cooperation between the member countries.
(f) Financial cooperation and banking facilities should be shared.
(g) Strategic expansion must be allowed as soon as possible. In this regard, the request of Pakistan and Iran may be entertained.
(h) Pooling of natural reveries between the SCO countries.
(i) Issues of air-bases must be resolved amicably.

Concluding Remarks

The SCO provides alternative system of security, politics, economics, culture and above all humanity. SCO stands for peace, harmony, tolerance and respect for all. SCO represents live wire for all the developing countries to achieve development and better life. SCO is anti-protectionism, anti hegemony and anti-capitalistic.

SCO promises Socio-economics integration, cultural connectivity, geo-political cooperation, *geo-strategic collaboration and statesmanship commitment to achieve certain objectives and goals.* SCO is the custodian of regional supremacy, national sovereignty, territorial sensitivity and above all power broker's sensibility.

It is hoped that economic might of China, military strength of Russia and rich oil and gas reservoirs of the Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kyrgystan and Iran would strengthen the Socio-economic power, geo-political and geo-strategic participation of the SCO in the regional and international politics.

4. ECO (ECONOMIC COOPERATION ORGANIZATION)

Brief Introduction

Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO), is an intergovernmental regional organization established in 1985 by Iran, Pakistan and Turkey for the purpose of promoting economic, technical and cultural cooperation among the Member States. ECO is the successor organization of Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD) which remained in existence since 1964 up to 1979.

In 1992, the Organization was expanded to include seven new members, namely: Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, Republic of Azerbaijan, Republic of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz Republic, Republic of Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Republic of Uzbekistan. The date of the Organization's expansion to its present strength, 28th November, is being observed as the ECO Day. The ECO region is full of bright trading prospects. Despite its young age, ECO has developed into a thriving regional organization. Its international stature is growing. Nevertheless, the organization faces daunting challenges with respect to realization of its objectives and goals. Most importantly, the region is lacking in appropriate infrastructure and institutions which the Organization is seeking to develop, on priority basis, to make full use of the available resources in the region.

Over the past 12 years the member states have been collaborating to accelerate the pace of regional development through their common endeavors. Besides shared cultural and historic affinities, they have been able to use the existing infrastructural and business links to further fortify their resolve to transfer their hopes and aspirations into a tangible reality. ECO has embarked on several projects in priority sectors of its cooperation including energy, trade, transportation, agriculture and drug control.

Current Membership

Islamic State of Afghanistan, Azerbaijan Republic, Islamic Republic of Iran, Republic of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz Republic, Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Republic of Tajikistan, Republic of Turkey, Turkmenistan and Republic of Uzbekistan

Finance Source: Member contributions.

Language: English.

Key Executive: Secretary General.

Secretariat Staff: International staff of the General Secretariat of ECO includes the Secretary General, 3 deputy secretaries general, 6 directors, 3 assistant directors and other professionals and technical, administrative and support personnel. The total number of staff is over 60.

Brief History

The ECO was established in 1985 as a trilateral organization of Iran, Pakistan and Turkey to promote multi dimensional regional cooperation with a view to creating conditions for sustained socioeconomic growth in the Member States. Its aims and objectives as its modes of operation were identical to those of its forerunner, the Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD) which remained in existence from 1964 to 1979. Subsequently, the organization was restructured and revived under the present name ECO.

The Treaty of Izmir signed in 1977 as the legal framework for the RCD and later adopted as the basic Charter of ECO was modified to provide a proper legal basis to ECO's transition from RCD at the Ministerial Meeting held in Islamabad in June 1990. Following the amendment in the Treaty of Izmir ECO was fully launched in early 1991.

The break-up of the former Soviet Union led to the independence of Republics of Central Asia and Caucasus. In their bid to open up to the outside world and as a manifestation of their urge to revive their historic affinities with the peoples of Iran, Pakistan and Turkey, six of these Republics; namely Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan along with Afghanistan sought the membership of ECO and were admitted into the organization. The participation of these new Members in the activities of the Organization commenced after their formal accession to the Treaty of Izmir at an Extraordinary Meeting of ECO Council of Ministers held in Islamabad on 28th May, 1992.

With its expansion in November 1992, from a 3 to 10-Members' Organization, ECO gained a new dimension and new role. Accordingly, there was a consensus at all levels of ECO Meetings that in order to enhance the effectiveness of ECO, fundamental changes were required in the structure and functional methodology of the organization. The fifth meeting of the Council of Ministers held in Ashgabat in January 1995 established a panel of eminent and competent persons to consider the issue of the reappraisal of the Treaty of Izmir and restructuring of ECO.

The Eminent Persons Group (EPG) after comprehensive deliberations finalized several recommendations and documents for submission to the ECO Council of Ministers. The Council of Ministers approved the Group's recommendations in the form of ten documents on ECO's new organizational set up and functional methodology in Ashgabat on 11th May 1996.

A Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on reorganization and restructuring of ECO was signed by the Foreign Ministers of ECO Countries at Ashgabat during the Summit Meeting on 14 May 1996. In pursuance of the above mentioned MOU, the Council of Ministers decided to hold an Extraordinary Session of the Council of Ministers in the city of Izmir for signing the revised Treaty of Izmir and Agreement on the Legal Status of the Economic Organization (ECO).

The Extraordinary Meeting of the ECO Council of Ministers was held in Izmir, Turkey on 14 September, 1996, to finalize ECO's basic documents including its fundamental Charter, the revised Treaty of Izmir. The Council of Ministers also approved the Implementation Plan on Reorganization and Restructuring of ECO and witnessed the signing of the Treaty of Izmir and the Agreement on the Legal Status of ECO by the Ministers/Authorized Representatives of ECO Member States.

In the wake of the above, the following ten documents are being implemented to give affect to the new organizational structure of the ECO, beginning in 1997.

1. Treaty of Izmir (amended)
2. Organizational Structure of ECO
3. Organizational Chart of ECO Secretariat
4. Agreement on Legal Status of the ECO, National Representatives and International Staff
5. Agreement between the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran and ECO relating to the Rights, Privileges and Immunities of the ECO Secretariat
6. Rules of Procedures of ECO
7. Functional Methodology of ECO
8. Economic Cooperation Strategy for the ECO Region

9. Staff Regulations of ECO Secretariat
10. Financial Regulations of ECO Secretariat

Organizational Structure

The Council of Ministers (COM) is the highest policy and decision-making body and is composed of Ministers of Foreign Affairs or such other representatives of the Ministerial rank as may be designated by the Government. The council of Ministers meets at least once a year by rotation among the Member States.

The Council of Permanent Representatives (CPR) is consisting of the Permanent Representatives/Ambassadors of the Member States accredited to the Islamic Republic of Iran as well as to the ECO and the Director General for ECO Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

The Regional Planning Council (RPC) is composed the Head of the Planning Organization of the Member States or such other representatives of corresponding authorities.

The General Secretariat consists of six Directorates under the supervision of the Secretary General and his Deputies. Two Specialized Agencies and six Regional Institutes are acting under the supervision of the General Secretariat.

Activities of ECO are conducted through Directorates under the supervision of Secretary General and his Deputies which considered and evolve projects and programmes of mutual benefit in the fields of:

Trade and Investment

- Transport and Telecommunications
- Energy, Minerals and Environment
- Agriculture, Industry and Tourism
- Human Resources & Sustainable Development
- Project & Economic Research and Statistics
- International Relations

Objectives

- Sustainable economic development of Member States;
- Progressive removal of trade barriers and promotion of intra- regional trade; Greater role of ECO region in the growth of world trade; Gradual integration of the economies of the Member States with the world economy;
- Development of transport & communications infrastructure linking the Member States with each other and with the outside world;
- Economic liberalization and privatization;
- Mobilization and utilization of ECO region's material resources;
- Effective utilization of the agricultural and industrial potentials of ECO region;
- Regional cooperation for drug abuse control, ecological and environmental protection and strengthening of historical and cultural ties among the peoples of the ECO region; and
- Mutually beneficial cooperation with regional and international organizations.

Principles of Cooperation

- Sovereign equality of the Member States and mutual advantage;
- Linking of national economic, development plans with ECO's immediate and long-term objectives to the extent possible;
- Joint efforts to gain freer access to markets outside the ECO region for the raw materials and finished products of the Member States;
- Effective utilization of ECO institutions, agreements and cooperative arrangements with other regional and international organizations including multilateral financial institutions;
- Common endeavors to develop a harmonized approach for participation in regional and global arrangements;
- Realization of economic cooperation strategy; and Exchanges in educational, scientific, technical and cultural fields.

5. OIC (THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ISLAMIC CONFERENCE)

The Organization of the Islamic Conference was set up in Rabat, Morocco, on September 25, 1969 in reaction to an arson attack against the Al-Aqsa Mosque on August 21, 1969. The Secretariat's work gradually expanded during the 1970s, and the Mecca Declaration of 1981, which focused on strengthening economic and commercial cooperation among the Member States, constituted a turning point. With 57 Member States the OIC is today the second largest organisation after the UN.

The OIC is made up of countries whose peoples are mainly followers of the Islamic religion. OIC countries represent a substantial portion of the world's developing countries, 21 per cent of world's population, possess significant human and material resources, and have a considerable potential for production and trade. However, today many member countries lag far behind the industrialised countries and even average developing countries in terms of socio-economic development.

The OIC Consists of

The Islamic Summit; The Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers; The General Secretariat; Standing Committees; Subsidiary Organs; Specialized Institutions; and Affiliated institutions. The mandate of the OIC is to promote all-round political, economic, social, cultural, and scientific cooperation among its member states, to safeguard Islamic holy places, and to work towards eradicating racial discrimination and colonialism. Influential governments in terms of political, religious, economic weight and activity in the OIC include: Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Malaysia, Turkey, and Iran. Other members that have a significant influence because of their budgetary contributions include: Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, and Libya. The OIC's budget comes from mandatory payments from its members, as well as additional voluntary contributions. Despite its size, its numerous committees, and the scope of its stated activities, the OIC is run on a tight budget.

Pressures for change have been incubating for some time in the OIC. Current Secretary General Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu (Turkey) is seen as a figure who will implement reforms of the organisation to make it more outward-looking. The OIC Ten Year Programme of Action was launched on 19th June 2006. It promises an organisation that will uphold transparency and accountability in governance and protect the rights of women, children, and minorities. It promises to promote sustainable development and to assist the least developed states in tackling diseases such as Aids, malaria and tuberculosis. It also pledges to work more closely with international agencies and with existing development initiatives and promises concrete steps on theological issues, for example confronting ideologies that claim to be able to use Islamic rulings to justify extremism.

Apart from the general economic (development, poverty alleviation, institution building, debt cancellation), humanitarian (relief, coordination, reconstruction, advocacy), political (statements, conflict resolution, principles, territory), cultural (arts, sport, heritage), health (the elimination and reduction of diseases), technical (technology transfer, etc) and religious support and solidarity that membership of the OIC brings, when deemed necessary, special committees are formed to give support around specific issues related to politics or conflict resolution. Although a useful forum for discussion, the OIC has lacked the means to implement its resolutions. There are some indications that this is changing and also that the OIC is starting to play a more significant role on the global stage. The Secretary General played a key role in diffusing the Danish Cartoon crisis, while decisions to tackle "Islamophobia" have helped raise the OIC's profile, not just among Muslims.

The establishment of coordination mechanisms with CSOs, and recognition of their role, has been on the agenda of the OIC for a number of years. At his inauguration, the current Secretary General called for a renewed effort to establish linkages with NGOs. In addition, in the bodies and work of the OIC, there is already a significant degree of engagement with CSOs in discussion forums (youth, women, and children). The OIC regularly calls upon CSOs to assist in specific emergencies where Muslim communities are affected. The Secretary General also holds meetings with CSOs about key humanitarian issues, and is currently in discussion with OCHA to build a forum for humanitarian NGOs. There are few official opportunities for CSOs to participate in OIC *decisions*. However, the OIC is now in the process of drafting laws for NGOs to gain Observer Status. It is in these areas that there exist entry points and opportunities for CSOs to start engaging further with the OIC.

HEADQUARTERS AND STRUCTURE THE OIC SYSTEM CONSISTS OF

The Islamic Summit

The highest policy-making organ, attended by the Kings and the Heads of State and Governments of the member states, convened every three years.

The Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers

In the interval between summits, OIC foreign ministers meet to oversee the implementation of decisions taken by the heads of state.

The Permanent Secretariat / General Secretariat

The executive organ of the Organization, entrusted with the day-to-day running of the OIC and the implementation of the decisions of the two preceding bodies, located in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. The General Secretariat is headed by a Secretary General appointed by the Foreign Ministers Conference for a period of four years renewable once only. As the highest authority of the General Secretariat and subsidiary organs, the Secretary General is responsible to the Conference for their work and submits reports to the Conference on the execution of his duties. The tasks of the General Secretariat are divided among general departments headed each by an Assistant Secretary General, who is responsible to the Secretary General for the functioning of his department.

Standing Committees

In order to coordinate and boost its action, align its view points and stands, and be credited with concrete results in the various fields of cooperation - political, economic, cultural, social, spiritual and scientific - among Member States, the Organization has created different committees, nearly all at ministerial level, a number of which are chaired by Heads of State:

- Al-Quds (Jerusalem) Committee.
- Standing Committee on Information and Cultural Affairs (COMIAC).

- Standing Committee on Economic and Trade Cooperation (COMCEC).
- Standing Committee on Scientific and Technological Cooperation (COMSTECH).
- Islamic Committee for Economic, Cultural, and Social Affairs.
- Permanent Finance Committee.
- Financial Control Organ.

The number and types of secondary organs and institutions of the OIC have been steadily increasing, and cover various areas of cultural, scientific, economic, legal, financial, sports, technological, educational, media, as well as vocational, social and humanitarian fields. Depending on their degree of autonomy vis-a-vis the parent organization, they are classified as subsidiary and specialized organs, or affiliated institutions.

Subsidiary Organs

- The Statistical, Economic, Social Research and Training Center for Islamic Countries, Ankara, Turkey.
- The Research Center for Islamic History, Art and Culture (IRCICA), Istanbul, Turkey.
- The Islamic University of Technology, located in Dhaka, Bangladesh.
- The Islamic Center for the Development of Trade, Casablanca, Morocco.
- The Islamic Fiqh Academy, Jeddah, Saudi Arabia.
- The Executive Bureau of the Islamic Solidarity Fund and its Waqf, Jeddah, Saudi Arabia.
- The Islamic University of Niger, Niamey, Niger.
- The Islamic University of Uganda, Mbale, Uganda.

Specialized Institutions

- The Islamic Development Bank (IDB), Jeddah, Saudi Arabia.
- The Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (ISESCO), Rabat, Morocco.
- The Islamic States Broadcasting Organization (ISBO) and the International Islamic News Agency (IINA), Jeddah, Saudi Arabia.

Mandate and Charter

The mandate of the OIC is to promote all-round cooperation among its member states, to safeguard Islamic holy places, and to work towards eradicating racial discrimination and colonialism. Under the Charter, the Organization aims to:

1. **Strengthen:**
   - **(a)** Islamic solidarity among Member States;
   - **(b)** Cooperation in the political, economic, social, cultural, and scientific fields;
   - **(c)** The struggle of all Muslim people to safeguard their dignity, independence, and national rights.
2. **Coordinate action to:**
   - **(a)** Safeguard the Holy Places;
   - **(b)** Support the struggle of the Palestinian people and assist them in recovering their rights and liberating their occupied territories.
3. **Work to:**
   - **(a)** Eliminate racial discrimination and all forms of colonialism;

(b) Create a favourable atmosphere for the promotion of cooperation and understanding between Member States and other countries.

The Charter also enumerates the principles governing OIC activities, namely:

- Full equality among Member States
- Observation of the right to self determination and non-interference in the internal affairs of Member States
- Observation of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of each State
- The settlement of any dispute that might arise among Member States by peaceful means such as negotiations, mediation, conciliation and arbitration
- A pledge to refrain, in relations among Member States, from resorting to force or threatening to resort to the use of force against the unity and territorial integrity or the political independence of any one of them.

Reforms

The OIC was established during the height of the cold war and at a time when the colonial period was coming to an end as the sole forum for the Islamic world. According to the current Secretary General, "The OIC should be equipped to cope with the prevailing tendencies of the new world order, including the highly-tuned sensitivity to the values of human rights, democracy and good governance... The present status of the General Secretariat is not commensurate with the objectives expected of it. Staff numbers are extremely limited as compared with similar international organizations, while the qualifications of many are below the required standards." Efforts are underway to restructure the OIC General Secretariat and to strengthen the role of the Secretary General in order to be able to respond more effectively to emergency situations, and also, to reform the Joint Islamic Action mechanisms, including the objectives, subsidiary organs, institutions and funding sources of the Organization.

Absence of engagement and connection has meant that inside the OIC, pressures for change have been incubating for some time. In 2004, several of the OIC's more influential players (including Malaysia, Pakistan and Turkey) supported the candidacy of Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu as a figure who would implement reforms of the organisation to make it more outward-looking. The OIC Ten Year Programme of Action was launched on 19th June 2006. The action plan is an impressive document. It promises an organisation that will uphold transparency and accountability in governance and protect the rights of women, children, and minorities. It promises to promote sustainable development and to assist the least developed states in tackling diseases such as Aids, malaria and tuberculosis (twenty-seven OIC member-states are African). It also pledges to work more closely with international agencies and with existing development initiatives such as the New Partnership for Africa's Development (Nepad) and the UN's Millennium Development Goals. The action plan also promises concrete steps on theological issues, for example confronting ideologies that claim to be able to use Islamic rulings to justify extremism. Meanwhile, Ihsanoglu has opened up the Jeddah secretariat to the outside world. The OIC website contains details of where he goes, who he meets, even names of people that he speaks with on the phone. All of this represents genuine progress. According to analysts, for a predominantly Muslim body to acknowledge good governance, rights for children, the threat from Aids is welcome evidence of fresh, innovative thinking. Some of the OIC's specialist development agencies (such as Comstech) have already started to coordinate what they do with other specialised agencies outside of the OIC system.

In addition, the OIC intends to open a new office in Brussels, in view of the increasing

common and bilateral actions and positions with the EU and its numerous organizations and reflecting a direct interest in European affairs as a result of the increasing number of political, economic and social issues linking OIC countries with the West, particularly with the greater Islamic presence there as a result of the growing Islamic communities in most of Europe, whose population is now estimated at over 20 million.

Global influence of OIC

The institutional architecture of the OIC may look impressive, but, according to analysts, the way the OIC is run reflects the democratic deficit in many Muslim countries. For example, its highest decision-making body calls itself the "Conference of Kings and Heads of State and Government". Until recently, its workings were opaque to the outside world (even to citizens of Muslim states). Only five new countries have been given observer status and the OIC has had little contact or cooperation with other organisations in the global community, such as agencies attached to the UN. Although a useful forum for discussion, the OIC has lacked the means to implement its resolutions. Thus, despite a 1981 call to redouble efforts "for the liberation of Jerusalem and the occupied territories" and to institute an economic boycott of Israel, several members, including Indonesia, Egypt, Jordan and Arab Gulf states, maintain economic ties with Israel. Furthermore, pledges for financial aid to member states or to Muslim communities suffering from civil war or natural disasters are often at best met only in part. The effectiveness of the OIC has also been constrained by the fact that many of its members have a wide variety of political orientations, from revolutionary Iran to conservative Saudi Arabia. Members have sometimes been in bitter dispute with one another, such as Iraq and Iran and Iraq and Kuwait.

In his inaugural statement, Ihsanoglu stated "the OIC has not been able to fully achieve its potential and establish itself as a powerful entity capable of actively voicing the Muslim causes and making itself heard in the international arena. The OIC must acquire more weight and impact on the world scene." Ihsanoglu stated in January 2005 that the OIC could only achieve its goals if: "we can change our methodology for adopting resolutions and find a mechanism for their implementation. Otherwise, many of our resolutions will remain a mere expression of good will towards each other." However, in some areas, there is no doubt that the influence of the OIC is increasing. The Secretary General has decided to break away from the past practices of detachment and seclusion and is seeking to re-equip itself to play an active, engaged role in the global political arena. The fact that the few days after a fatwa was issued on Danish cartoonists passed off without incident may have had something to do with the presence in Islamabad of Ihsanoglu. At a press conference in Islamabad on 21 February, Ihsanoglu angrily said: "We have no authority to kill anybody and take the law in our hands." Ihsanoglu was emphatic: "Such a fatwa goes against Islam." His comments were widely reported in Pakistan's press and may have helped to release some of the tension. Ihsanoglu is respected across the Muslim world. In Pakistan (as elsewhere) Islamists cannot criticise him in the same way they routinely do President Pervez Musharraf. This is partly because he represents the consensus (and the conscience) of the Muslim world.

But, as one analyst points out, there is a more practical, immediate reason: it was the OIC's December 2005 summit in Mecca - where the notorious "expanded" dossier of cartoons produced by Danish imams seeking to mobilise Muslim anger was circulated - that helped to alert Muslims to the images' existence. The OTC's vigorous condemnation of the "desecration" and its concern over the "rising hatred of Muslims" in Europe follows its decision to establish what it calls an "Islamophobia Observatory" in Jeddah, with a brief to document and publicise prejudice against Muslims in countries where they are a minority of the population. Such initiatives have helped raise the OIC's profile - and not just among Muslims. Ihsanoglu is now much in demand in the capitals of Europe.

6. EU (EUROPEAN UNION)

The European Union (EU) is an economic and political union of 27 member states, located primarily in Europe. Committed to regional integration, the EU was established by the Treaty of Maastricht on 1 November 1993 upon the foundations of the European Communities. With over 500 million citizens, the EU combined generates an estimated 30% share (US$ 18.4 trillion in 2008) of the nominal gross world product and about 22% (US$15.2 trillion in 2008) of the PPP gross world product.

The EU has developed a single market through a standardized system of laws which apply in all member states, ensuring the free movement of people, goods, services, and capital. It maintains common policies on trade, agriculture, fisheries and regional development. Sixteen member states have adopted a common currency, the euro, constituting the Euro zone. The EU has developed a limited role in foreign policy, having representation at the World Trade Organization, G8, G-20 major economies and at the United Nations. It enacts legislation in justice and home affairs, including the abolition of passport controls by the Schengen Agreement between 22 EU and 3 non-EU states.

History

After World War II, moves towards European integration were seen by many as an escape from the extreme forms of nationalism which had devastated the continent. One such attempt to unite Europeans was the European Coal and Steel Community which, while having the modest aim of centralized control of the previously national coal and steel industries of its member states, was declared to be "a first step in the federation of Europe". The originators and supporters of the Community include Jean Monnet, Robert Schuman, Paul Henri Spaak, and Alcide de Gasperi. The founding members of the Community were Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and West Germany.

In 1957, these six countries signed the Treaties of Rome which extended the earlier cooperation within the European Coal and Steel Community and created the European Economic Community, (EEC) establishing a customs union and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) for cooperation in developing nuclear energy. In 1967 the Merger Treaty created a single set of institutions for the three communities, which were collectively referred to as the European Communities (EC), although commonly just as the European Community.

In 1973, the Communities enlarged to include Denmark, Ireland, and the United Kingdom. Norway had negotiated to join at the same time but Norwegian voters rejected membership in a referendum and so Norway remained outside. In 1979, the first direct, democratic elections to the European Parliament were held.

Greece joined in 1981, and Spain and Portugal in 1986. In 1985, the Schengen Agreement led the way toward the creation of open borders without passport controls between most member states and some non-member states. In 1986, the European flag began to be used by the Community and the Single European Act was signed.

In 1990, after the fall of the Iron Curtain, the former East Germany became part of the Community as part of a newly united Germany. With enlargement towards Eastern and Central Europe on the agenda, the Copenhagen criteria for candidate members to join the European Union were agreed.

The European Union was formally established when the Maastricht Treaty came into force on 1 November 1993, and in 1995 Austria, Sweden, and Finland joined the newly established EU. In 2002, euro notes and coins replaced national currencies in 12 of the member states. Since then, the euro zone has increased to encompass sixteen countries. In 2004, the EU saw its biggest

enlargement to date when Malta, Cyprus, Slovenia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Hungary joined the Union.

On 1 January 2007, Romania and Bulgaria became the EU's newest members and Slovenia adopted the euro. In June 2009, the 2009 Parliament elections were held leading to a renewal of Barroso's Commission Presidency ,and in July 2009 Iceland formally applied for EU membership. On 1 December 2009, the Lisbon Treaty came into force after a protracted and controversial birth. This reformed many aspects of the EU but in particular created a permanent President of the European Council, the first of which is Herman van Rompuy, and a strengthened High Representative, Catherine Ashton.

Member states

The European Union is composed of 27 sovereign Member States: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.

To join the EU a country must meet the Copenhagen criteria, defined at the 1993 Copenhagen European Council. These require a stable democracy that respects human rights and the rule of law; a functioning market economy capable of competition within the EU; and the acceptance of the obligations of membership, including EU law. Evaluation of a country's fulfilment of the criteria is the responsibility of the European Council.

No member state has ever left the Union, although Greenland (an autonomous province of Denmark) withdrew in 1985. The Lisbon Treaty now provides a clause dealing with how a member leaves the EU.

There are three official candidate countries, Croatia, Macedonia and Turkey. Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia and Iceland are officially recognised as potential candidates. Kosovo is also listed as a potential candidate but the European Commission does not list it as an independent country because not all member states recognize it as an independent country separate from Serbia.

Four Western European countries that have chosen not to join the EU have partly committed to the EU's economy and regulations: Iceland, which has now applied for membership, Liechtenstein and Norway, which are a part of the single market through the European Economic Area, and Switzerland, which has similar ties through bilateral treaties. The relationships of the European microstates, Andorra, Monaco, San Marino and the Vatican include the use of the euro and other areas of co-operation.

Governance

The institutions of the EU operate solely within those competencies conferred on it upon the treaties and according to the principle of subsidiarity (which dictates that action by the EU should only be taken where an objective cannot be sufficiently achieved by the member states alone). Law made by the EU institutions is passed in a variety of forms, primarily that which comes into direct force and that which must be passed in a refined form by national parliaments.

Legislative competencies are divided equally, with some exceptions, between the European Parliament and the Council of the European Union while executive tasks are carried out by the European Commission and in a limited capacity by the European Council (not to be confused with the aforementioned Council of the European Union). The interpretation and the application of EU law and the treaties are ensured by the Court of Justice of the European Union. There are also a number of ancillary bodies which advise the EU or operate in a specific area.

European Council

The EU receives its political leadership from the European Council, which usually meets four times a year. It comprises one representative per member state—either its head of state or head of government—plus its President as well as the President of the Commission. The member states' representatives are assisted by their Foreign Ministers. The European Council uses its leadership role to sort out disputes between member states and the institutions, and to resolve political crises and disagreements over controversial issues and policies. The European Council should not be mistaken for the Council of Europe, an international organisation independent from the EU.

On 19 November 2009, Herman Van Rompuy was chosen as the first President of the European Council and Catherine Ashton was chosen as the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. They both assumed office on 1 December 2009.

Council

The Council (also called "Council of the European Union" and sometimes referred to as the "Council of Ministers") forms one half of the EU's legislature. It consists of a government minister from each member state and meets in different compositions depending on the policy area being addressed. Notwithstanding its different compositions, it is considered to be one single body. In addition to its legislative functions, the Council also exercises executive functions in relations to the Common Foreign and Security Policy.

Commission

The European Commission acts as the EU's executive arm and is responsible for initiating legislation and the day-to-day running of the EU. It is intended to act solely in the interest of the EU as a whole, as opposed to the Council which consists of leaders of member states who reflect national interests. The commission is also seen as the motor of European integration. It is currently composed of 27 commissioners for different areas of policy, one from each member state. The President of the Commission and all the other commissioners are nominated by the Council. Appointment of the Commission President, and also the Commission in its entirety, have to be confirmed by Parliament.

Parliament

The European Parliament forms the other half of the EU's legislature. The 736 (soon to be 750) Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) are directly elected by EU citizens every five years. Although MEPs are elected on a national basis, they sit according to political groups rather than their nationality. Each country has a set number of seats and in some cases is divided into sub-national constituencies. The Parliament and the Council of Ministers pass legislation jointly in nearly all areas under the ordinary legislative procedure. This also applies to the EU budget. Finally, the Commission is accountable to Parliament, requiring its approval to take office, having to report back to it and subject to motions of censure from it. The President of the European Parliament carries out the role of speaker in parliament and represents it externally. The president and vice presidents are elected by MEPs every two and a half years.

Courts

The judicial branch of the EU—formally called the Court of Justice of the European Union—consists of three courts: the Court of Justice, the General Court, and the European Union Civil Service Tribunal. Together they interpret and apply the treaties and the law of the EU.

The Court of Justice primarily deals with cases taken by member states, the institutions, and cases referred to it by the courts of member states. The General Court mainly deals with cases taken by individuals and companies directly before the EU's courts, and the European Union Civil Service Tribunal adjudicates in disputes between the European Union and its civil service. Decisions from the General Court can be appealed to the Court of Justice but only on a point of law.

Legal system

Further information: Law of the European Union, Treaties of the European Union, and European Union legislative procedure

The EU is based on a series of treaties. These first established the European Community and the EU, and then made amendments to those founding treaties. These are power-giving treaties which set broad policy goals and establish institutions with the necessary legal powers to implement those goals. These legal powers include the ability to enact legislation which can directly affect all member states and their inhabitants. Under the principle of supremacy, national courts are required to enforce the treaties that their member states have ratified, and thus the laws enacted under them, even if doing so requires them to ignore conflicting national law, and (within limits) even constitutional provisions.

The main legal acts of the EU come in three forms: regulations, directives, and decisions. Regulations become law in all member states the moment they come into force, without the requirement for any implementing measures, and automatically override conflicting domestic provisions. Directives require member states to achieve a certain result while leaving them discretion as to how to achieve the result. The details of how they are to be implemented are left to member states.

When the time limit for implementing directives passes, they may, under certain conditions, have direct effect in national law against member states. Decisions offer an alternative to the two above modes of legislation. They are legal acts which only apply to specified individuals, companies or a particular member state. They are most often used in Competition Law, or on rulings on State Aid, but are also frequently used for procedural or administrative matters within the institutions. Regulations, directives, and decisions are of equal legal value and apply without any formal hierarchy.

One of the complicating features of the EU's legal system is the multiplicity of legislative procedures used to enact legislation. The treaties micro-manage the EU's powers, indicating different ways of adopting legislation for different policy areas and for different areas within the same policy areas. A common feature of the EU's legislative procedures, however, is that almost all legislation must be initiated by the Commission, rather than member states or European parliamentarians. The two most common procedures are co-decision, under which the European Parliament can veto proposed legislation, and consultation, under which Parliament is only permitted to give an opinion which can be ignored by European leaders. In most cases legislation must be agreed by the council.

National courts within the member states play a key role in the EU as enforcers of EU law, and a "spirit of cooperation" between EU and national courts is laid down in the Treaties. National courts can apply EU law in domestic cases, and if they require clarification on the interpretation or validity of any EU legislation related to the case it may make a reference for a preliminary ruling to the Court of Justice. The right to declare EU legislation invalid however is reserved to the EU courts.

Foreign relations

EU member states have a standardized passport design, burgundy coloured with the name of

the member state, Coat of Arms and with the words "European Union" given in their official language(s) at the top; in this case those of Ireland.

Foreign policy cooperation between member states dates from the establishment of the Community in 1957, when member states negotiated as a bloc in international trade negotiations under the Common Commercial Policy. Steps for a more wide ranging coordination in foreign relations began in 1970 with the establishment of European Political Cooperation which created an informal consultation process between member states with the aim of forming common foreign policies. It was not, however, until 1987 when European Political Cooperation was introduced on a formal basis by the Single European Act. EPC was renamed as the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) by the Maastricht Treaty.

The Maastricht Treaty gives the CFSP the aims of promoting both the EU's own interests and those of the international community as a whole. This includes promoting international co-operation, respect for human rights, democracy, and the rule of law.

The Amsterdam Treaty created the office of the High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy (currently held by Catherine Ashton) to co-ordinate the EU's foreign policy. The High Representative, in conjunction with the current Presidency, speaks on behalf of the EU in foreign policy matters and can have the task of articulating ambiguous policy positions created by disagreements among member states. The Common Foreign and Security Policy requires unanimity among the now 27 member states on the appropriate policy to follow on any particular issue. The unanimity and difficult issues treated under the CFSP makes disagreements, such as those which occurred over the war in Iraq, not uncommon.

Besides the emerging international policy of the European Union, the international influence of the EU is also felt through enlargement. The perceived benefits of becoming a member of the EU act as an incentive for both political and economic reform in states wishing to fulfil the EU's accession criteria, and are considered an important factor contributing to the reform of former Communist countries in Central and Eastern Europe. This influence on the internal affairs of other countries is generally referred to as "soft power", as opposed to military "hard power".

In the UN, as an observer and working together, the EU has gained influence in areas such as aid due to its large contributions in that field. In the G8, the EU has rights of membership besides chairing/hosting summit meetings and is represented at meetings by the presidents of the Commission and the Council. In the World Trade Organisation (WTO), where all 27 member states are represented, the EU as a body is represented by Trade Commissioner Benita Ferrero-Waldner.

Military and defence

The predecessors of the European Union were not devised as a strong military alliance because NATO was largely seen as appropriate and sufficient for defence purposes. Twenty-one EU members are members of NATO while the remaining member states follow policies of neutrality. The Western European Union (WEU) is a European security organisation related to the EU. In 1992, the WEU's relationship with the EU was defined, when the EU assigned it the "Petersberg tasks" (humanitarian missions such as peacekeeping and crisis management). These tasks were later transferred from the WEU to the EU by the Amsterdam Treaty and now form part of the Common Foreign and Security Policy and the Common Security and Defence Policy. Elements of the WEU are currently being

merged into the Common Foreign and Security Policy, and the President of the WEU is currently the EU's foreign policy chief.

Following the Kosovo War in 1999, the European Council agreed that "the Union must have the capacity for autonomous action, backed by credible military forces, the means to decide to use them, and the readiness to do so, in order to respond to international crises without prejudice to actions by NATO". To that end, a number of efforts were made to increase the EU's military capability, notably the Helsinki Headline Goal process. After much discussion, the most concrete result was the EU Battlegroups initiative, each of which is planned to be able to deploy quickly about 1500 personnel.

EU forces have been deployed on peacekeeping missions from Africa to the former Yugoslavia and the Middle East. EU military operations are supported by a number of bodies, including the European Defence Agency, satellite centre and the military staff. In an EU consisting of 27 members, substantial security and defence cooperation is increasingly relying on great power cooperation.

Economy

Since its origin, the EU has established a single economic market across the territory of all its members. Currently, a single currency is in use between the 16 members of the eurozone. If considered as a single economy, the EU generated an estimated nominal gross domestic product (GDP) of US$18.39 trillion (15.247 trillion international dollars based on purchasing power parity) in 2008, amounting to over 22% of the world's total economic output in terms of purchasing power parity, which makes it the largest economy in the world by nominal GDP and the second largest trade bloc economy in the world by PPP valuation of GDP. It is also the largest exporter, and largest importer of goods and services, and the biggest trading partner to several large countries such as China and India.

178 of the top 500 largest corporations measured by revenue (Fortune Global 500) have their headquarters in the EU.

In May 2007 unemployment in the EU stood at 7% while investment was at 21.4% of GDP, inflation at 2.2% and public deficit at −0.9% of GDP. There is a great deal of variance for annual per capita income within individual EU states, these range from US$7,000 to US$69,000.

Single market

Two of the original core objectives of the European Economic Community were the development of a common market, subsequently renamed the single market, and a customs union between its member states. The single market involves the free circulation of goods, capital, people and services within the EU, and the customs union involves the application of a common external tariff on all goods entering the market. Once goods have been admitted into the market they cannot be subjected to customs duties, discriminatory taxes or import quotas, as they travel internally. The non-EU member states of Iceland, Norway, Liechtenstein and Switzerland participate in the single market but not in the customs union. Half the trade in the EU is covered by legislation harmonized by the EU.

Free movement of capital is intended to permit movement of investments such as property purchases and buying of shares between countries. Until the drive towards Economic and Monetary Union the development of the capital provisions had been slow. Post-Maastricht there has been a rapidly developing corpus of ECJ judgements regarding this initially neglected freedom. The free movement of capital is unique as that it is granted equally to non-member states.

The free movement of persons means citizens can move freely between member states to live, work, study or retire in another country. This required the lowering of administrative formalities and recognition of professional qualifications of other states.

The free movement of services and of establishment allows self-employed persons to move between member states in order to provide services on a temporary or permanent basis. While services account for between sixty and seventy percent of GDP, legislation in the area is not as developed as in other areas. This lacuna has been addressed by the recently passed Directive on services in the internal market which aims to liberalize the cross border provision of services. According to the Treaty the provision of services is a residual freedom that only applies if no other freedom is being exercised.